THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELIGION AND RESISTANCE IN THE ANDES: SAN PEDRO DE HACAS, 1657

BY

© KENNETH REYNOLD MILLS

A THESIS

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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

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Date: 25 April 1988

The Indians do not understand or dare not tell these things [their practices] with the true interpretation and meaning of the words. They see that the Christian Spaniards abominate them all as works of the Devil, and the Spaniards do not trouble to ask for clear information about them, but rather dismiss them as diabolical, as they imagine.

Garcilaso de la Vega, El Inca

We know that they want to misshape our face with clay;
exhibit us, deformed, before our sons.

We don't know what will happen.
Let death walk towards us,
let these unknown people come.

We will await them; we are the sons of the father
of all the lord mountains; sons of the
father of all the rivers.....

José María Arguedas

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled RELIGION AND RESISTANCE IN THE ANDES : SAN PEDRO DE HACAS, 1657 submitted by KENNETH MILLS in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS.

David C. Johnson
(Supervisor)

Date: 18 April 1988

Abstract

In seventeenth-century Peru the official response to the persistence of indigenous beliefs and traditions took the form of an institution called the Extirpation of idolatry. The Extirpation's agents led investigations in the mountain areas where Indian parishioners were suspected of idolatrous practices. The purpose was the discovery and destruction of surviving forms of Indian religion and the exemplary punishment of the chief offenders. One such investigation was conducted by Bernardo de Noboa in the community of San Pedro de Hacas in the Archdiocese of Lima in 1657.

What emerges from the Indians' testimonies collected in Hacas is a wealth of information about the spiritual existence of the people at the historical moment of Noboa's visita, a complex world of religious allegiance, conspiracy and resistance. The villagers efforts were directed at more than simply ensuring the survival of local religious beliefs. Their very existence as a people demanded active opposition, adaptation and innovation. An examination of some of the principal village festivals reveals a spiritual and political universe in which the imposition of Catholicism seems only to have enhanced the peoples'

determination to maintain and defend a cultural identity.

Hacas in 1657 was symbolic of a larger and more vital clash that began in the early colonial era. It brings to the fore the ideological stalemate resulting from the confrontation of two worlds in Peru: the crisis of understanding on the part of the Spanish and the cultural tenacity on the part of the Indians.

Acknowledgements

While it is an impossible task to thank all those individuals who have assisted me - in one way or another - in the preparation of this thesis, a few cannot escape mention. First, I would like to thank my family and friends for their constant support. I extend a special thank you to Monica J. Brown for her understanding and sense of humour while my mind was away in Peru.

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In Peru, I thank the people that have left me with enough images for a lifetime. I have been fortunate to profit from rewarding discussions with Marfa

Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, David Cahill and Izumi Shimada. I am indebted to those who helped me find my way in the Biblioteca Nacional in Lima and the Centro de estudios rurales andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas in Cusco. I wish to extend a heartfelt thank you to Luís Millones for his sound advice and for sharing his knowledge of the Andes with me, both in Peru and the United States. To Renate, Luís, Mario, Marco, Rubén and Mateo, a thanks for their kindness.

A visit to the Benson Latin American Collection at the University of Texas at Austin was crucial in shaping my research and outlook. In this experience I thank, most of all, visiting Professor Millones, Nettie Lee Benson, Richard Graham, Susan Deans-Smith and Alan Knight for their valuable input.

Lastly and especially, for his intellectual generosity and countless instances of challenge, suggestion and encouragement, I wish to thank my supervisor in Edmonton, David C. Johnson.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
II.	THE EXTIRPATION OF IDOLATRY	23
III.	COLONIAL SAN PEDRO DE HACAS: COMMUNITY AND AUTHORITY	86
IV.	FESTIVALS OF ORIGINS: COEXISTENCE AND THE VECOSINA	153
V.	FESTIVALS OF REGENERATION: THE SEMI-ANNUAL POCOIMITA AND CARUAMITA	203
VI.	CONCLUSION	234
BIBLIOGRAPHY		243

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE		PAGE
I.	THE INDIGENOUS PRIESTHOOD OF HACAS	116

LIST OF MAPS

MAP		PAGE
I.	BOLOGNESI TODAY	3
II.	CAJATAMBO IN 1791	93

I INTRODUCTION :

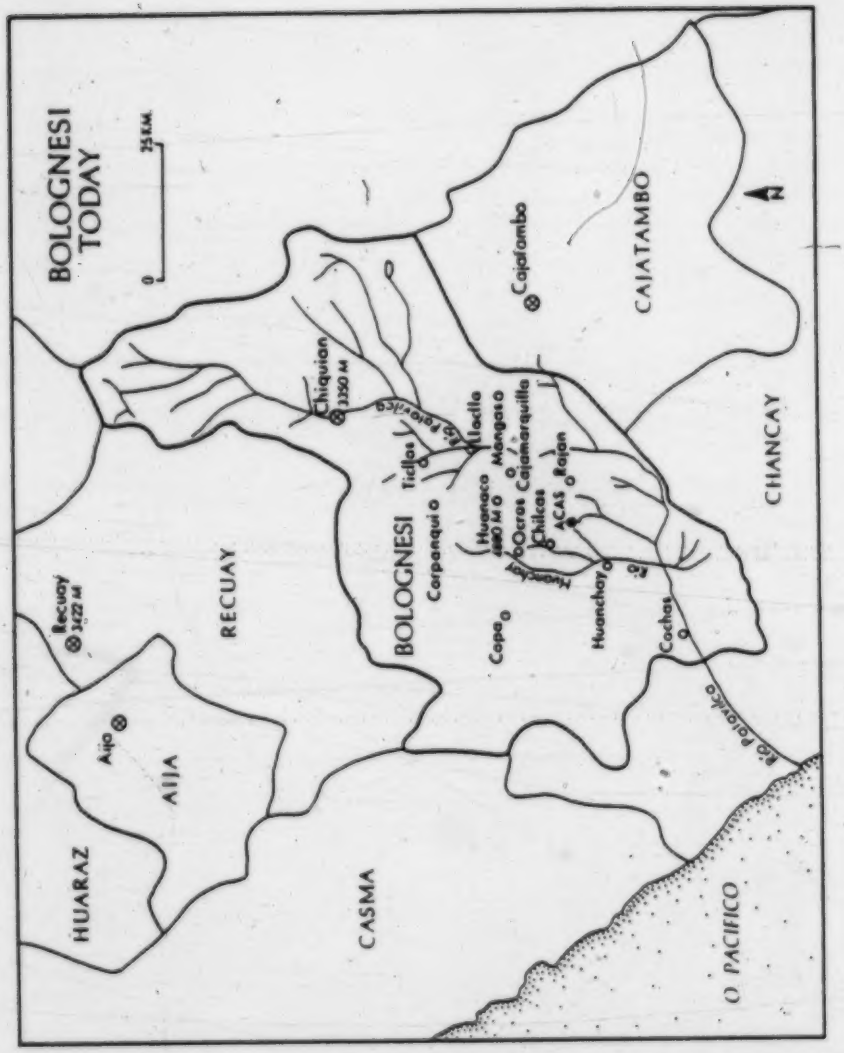
Early in the year 1656 in Lima, Don Bernardo de Noboa was formally commissioned visitador of idolatry. The position meant two things. In function, this official was essentially the religious equivalent of the visitador general, a primarily secular officer possessing sweeping investigatorial jurisdiction in the colonial world. Noboa, as the Church's visitador, would be a religious inspector, an "inquisitor" (not related to the Holy Office of the Inquisition). As implied by its full title, this position had a focused objective: the elimination of idolatry. Idolatry was the ambivalent and powerfully connotative term under which the official Church collected any forms of indigenous religious survival.[1] In Peru by the mid-seventeenth century, the appointment of visitador was made in accordance with an institution that had been established at the end of the first decade of the century in specific response to what was regarded as a grave problem. The "Extirpation", as it was called, set as its objectives the destruction of any resurgent indigenous beliefs and religious practices and the improvement of the state of Christianity among the Indians.

Thus, the visitador of idolatry had as his arena of

operations the Indian parishes, and precisely, the localities which were suspected as problem areas by his superiors in Lima - usually the archbishop, but at times the king's representative, the viceroy, as well. Official attention was most often guided to certain areas upon the authorities' reception of rumours and reports of active Indian idolatry in the given regions. Such reports usually had come from parish priests or Spaniards who lived near, or passed through, Indian villages and towns. Occasionally these initiatory denunciations would come from mestizos or even Indians who had chosen the path to success in association with the conquerors' world and who sought the favour of colonial officials who had declared themselves interested in idolatry. Seemingly out of fear of being implicated in any concealment of religious unorthodoxy, peoples' reporting of incidence of idolatry markedly increased in proportion to the activities of repression by the Extirpation.

The visita assigned Bernardo de Noboa was a particularly challenging one. It sent him to the mountainous jurisdiction of Cajatambo in what is today part of both the province of Bolognesi in the Department of Ancash and the province of Cajatambo in The Department of Lima (see Map I). The area was not

MAP I :



from Carlos Peñaherrera (director), Atlas Histórico Geográfico y de Paisajes Peruanos, (Lima, 1963-1970), 381 and 509. (modified from)

altogether foreign to Visitador Noboa, as he had served as parish priest of Ticllos, a community just northeast of the main visita area. In the mid-seventeenth century, as today, this area was predominantly Indian in culture and way of life, the people being campesinos, or peasants, chiefly subsistence-oriented agricultural producers and pastoralists.[2] Noboa and his retinue busied themselves with their examinations in the area from the early part of March 1656 to the end of January 1663, with intermittent breaks but only one significant interruption in 1658.[3]

A lengthy examination was undertaken in one particular mountain village in the first part of Noboa's visita in the region. This place was San Pedro de Hacas, or simply Hacas in the shortened form that the Indians themselves referred to it in the documents of the day, the Acas of present times. In most respects, San Pedro de Hacas could be said to have been an ordinary Indian parish in the Andes in the seventeenth century.

However, what makes Hacas of the seventeenth century exceptional today are the surviving documents of the visita conducted there by Bernardo de Noboa in 1657. The 137 folios are housed in the Archiepiscopal Archives in Lima. In 1986 they were published in

Pierre Duviols' collection entitled Cultura andina y represión: procesos y visitas de idolatrías y hechicerías, Cajatambo siglo XVII.[4] It is on these published records that most of this discussion is based. In terms of sheer volume, the documentation collected from the investigation of this village in 1657 is impressive enough, representing the third largest record of the some one hundred and fifty sets of proceedings known to be extant in the Archbishop's Archive of Lima.[5] Of course, the size alone of a bundle of seventeenth-century documents can mean nothing. What does distinguish the fruit of the proceedings undertaken in Hacas is the content. Because of their detail, Lorenzo Huertas Vallejos, an historian well-acquainted with the trials of the area, claims that these declarations "constitute one of the most important documents concerning the folk religion of Cajatambo."[6] Yet, this statement only hints at the value of this idolatry trial - and others for that matter - as nascent historical sources.

These proceedings introduce the reader to an "historical moment". The "moment" in the case of this discussion seems important for two reasons. Firstly, one may observe the community of Hacas and the events that ensued there at the time of Bernardo de Noboa's

visita as a phase in the Spanish approach to the survival of Indian religion in Peru. The trials in San Pedro de Hacas also raise questions that relate to the entire European endeavour of Christianisation in America. Thus, the first chapter examines the foundation of the Extirpation in seventeenth-century Peru in this context. In a second sense, the testimonies collected by Visitador Noboa are rich with information on the existing indigenous beliefs and offer a rare glimpse into the world of Indian religiosity and existence over a century after the arrival of the Spanish. Speaking Quechua and living traditionally, as remote from Spanish rule and demands as they could manage and survival would allow, the indigenous world of the post-conquest era has tended, until fairly recently, to remain obscured to historians. The colonial indigenous are among the infamous ones in history that escape notice, and are easily "passed over in silence", as Professor Carlo Ginzburg put it, "discarded, or simply ignored."[7]

The colonial period in the Andes, or in Spanish America as a whole, was not simply a matter of European expansion and reign in America, punctuated only by the odd unimportant skirmish with the people. Indeed, as the myth of the three-hundred year colonial monolith

crumbles, and as the activity and dynamism of the constituent elements of the populations gain more recognition, the visita of idolatry in Peru will play its part in fleshing out a fuller explanation.[8]

A visita of idolatry, like any other piece of historical evidence, is fraught with its own limitations as well as buoyed by its strengths. Many of the restrictions that can be perceived in the evidence stem from the very method in which the information was gathered: the interrogation, or inquisitorial procedure. This procedure presents fundamental problems that could be said to be the common scourge of any evidence collected by this method in any age or context. Neither the diligence of the inquisitor, the care of the notary, nor the confident designs of a given witness can fully eliminate what is inescapable in the investigatory scenario.

From the very beginning of their "relationship", the judge and the witness were on unequal terms. This was particularily the case in the trials in the seventeenth century in Peru where the visitador is an educated Spanish priest and the witnesses, for the most part, nonliterate Indian peasants. The whole official atmosphere of the visita would have inspired

trepidation in the Indian commoner. A congregation of Spanish officialdom would have descended on a normally quiet village, arriving and issuing an edict proclaiming that the Indians had three days to declare any idolatry and all idolaters to the visitador.[9] The proceedings themselves were held in the local church with the visitador presiding and a dutiful notary at his side transcribing all that was said by the persons to come before the judge.

The nature of the examination itself was confrontational, purposefully oriented towards the authority's eliciting of information and confession from the witness or accused. Very rarely would an atmosphere of trust be established between the two main parties that are relevant to this discussion, namely the Spaniard and the Indian. More often, the reader of the trials' proceedings feels that the mood was one of tension. In this case, the most effective weapons available to the visitador were the fruits of the unequal and confrontational environment, the respect and the fear of the person before him.

Fear, it would seem, was conceived of as potentially helpful as an influence on a person's testimony before a judge. One can suppose that the apologists of coercion would have claimed that in these judicial circumstances fear was an indication that a

suspect or witness was sufficiently filled with reverence and appreciation of the seriousness of the affair. One must concede that it is quite possible that the person called before the visitador on suspicion of, or implication in, a religious crime such as idolatry, might well be frightened or impressed enough with the entire proceeding to be convinced by the persistent entreaties that a confession was, indeed, in his or her best interest.

If the authoritative ambiance of the act of trial itself was not enough, a different sort of fear was also the objective of the pious intensity that accompanied the investigation. The edict and sermons preached to the Indians in their language of Quechua were meant to instill confirmed idolaters, not only with fear of immediate punishment, but also with a horrifying vision of the eternal damnation that awaited them if they withheld information about their persistent ancient ways.[10] The visitador's words to the Indians who were rounded up to listen stressed, however, that the peoples' end need not be in the fiery chasms. Their opportunity for salvation, brought to them in the person of the visitador, was through the embrace of the Catholic faith. The first steps towards this end, they were told, came in full confession of their previous and present sins and those of others

they could identify. Thus, along with the instillation of fear, the Catholic extirpators endeavoured to add a dimension of hope. It was thought that this hope based on fear and respect would serve to hasten confessions and the discovery of the worst offenders.

The possibilities of how the inquisitorial surroundings and atmosphere inspired by the visita might affect the veracity of the information collected from the indigenous testimonies present some potentially serious problems. One's doubts on the efficacy of the inquisitorial procedure unearthing the truth can begin with an examination of the trust placed on oaths. These oaths were far from being foolproof in the idolatry investigation that concerns this discussion. In Hacas, it can be assumed that the people's view of taking an oath of truthfulness on the Christian Bible corresponded to their conception of the imposed religion as a whole. While one might take an oath in the visitador's presence, just as one dutifully recited an Ave Maria in the church, these actions meant little to a people whose real loyalties and faith continued to be their own. As will be treated in more depth in a later chapter, in San Pedro de Hacas, indigenous religious leaders interpreted the Spaniards' religion as empty of meaning for the Indians; therefore the oaths - in the very same way - may not have meant a

thing. In these situations, there seems to have been the opportunity for many Indian witnesses to forswear and equivocate their ways quite convincingly through the whole procedure.

Lying might also be the product of pre-existing animosities in the region or a paranoia of "who was accusing who" that would only increase the longer the visita continued to interrupt the regular rhythm of life. As the Jesuit extirpator, Father Pablo José de Arriaga observed from first-hand experience in a visita,

> the important thing is...to acquire an entering wedge.... The Indians freely offer information about neighboring towns and will then give themselves away easily. The beginning is the hardest and one has to win by one means or another, as experience will demonstrate."[11]

On a smaller scale, "village hatred" must also be taken into consideration. For example, in Hacas one can perceive glimpses of tension existing between the religious leaders of the village and the chief political authority regarding the instigation of the collection of sacrificial offerings. People being people, one notices that grudges seem to have been held, and certain people only indicted certain others, perhaps not so much because of any lapses in memory as for purely personal reasons.

Outright lies and pointed denunciations had more innocent counterparts in exaggeration and distortion of reality. Yet, the result was equally detrimental to the discovery of the truth. In this case, the implementation of the tactic of fear, in effect, could force a "false confession".[12] While a person deathly afraid of punishment or threat of torture might make a declaration that was less cunning or intentionally misleading than a more fearless type, he also might say any number of things. On occasions where evidence is derived from inquisitorial settings, examples abound of all sorts of imprecisions. For example, the inquisitor or visitador, no matter how much he attempts to avoid it, can hardly escape asking "leading questions" based on information he has heard in other testimonies that came before.

A fearful person, eager to end the examination as soon as possible, is also usually eager to appear cooperative to the authority. The witness may be prepared to say almost anything to escape, and may decide that , for example, a positive response is what the official desires and give one despite the truth. Wild fabrications might ensue, or, as an evil often less easy to detect, a whole series of witnesses might confirm a suspicion that was really only the impression of the visitador or that of only one actual witness.

In many instances, the reading of the trial records becomes an exercise in "reading between lines."

One must also be aware of another group of problems that arise from the collection of testimonies and thus affect this type of historical source. These have been most aptly dubbed "involuntary filters" by the noted historians of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, Gustav Henningsen and John Tedeschi.[13] In the case of the visita of idolatry of Noboa in the Andes, all three "filters" that Henningsen and Tedeschi mention must be considered as potentially limiting the information as an historical source. The first is a "linguistic filter", very much in place in this case, as interpreters served as intermediaries between Noboa, the Spanish interrogator, and all of the Quechua-speaking witnesses that came before him. Second is a "cultural filter", a limit that imposed itself when a large educational and experiential difference occurred between judge and witness. This was certainly the case between the visitador and the Indian witnesses in Hacas. Lastly, there are what have been called "bureaucratic filters" of the evidence. Information put to paper was affected by such things as the diligence of a given notary, the orders of the visitador, any standardizations in the testimonies that the scribe was in the habit of making, and any number

of purely human errors or ommissions that might occur in the course of transcribing the proceedings. These problems would have been as relevant to the investigation carried out in an Indian parish in Peru as anywhere else.

A limitation that was placed on the evidence by the witnesses themselves -unknowingly of course - presents what is unmistakably the most noticeable and, in the end, most troublesome challenge for the student of these kinds of sources: the irregularity in the testimonies. Some witnesses, while they seem to have given the most rigourously detailed accounts of some elements that seem of little consequence, might be completely unresponsive when it came to reconstructing an important event about which information was desired. One encounters obstinance and evasiveness mixed with extraordinary bursts of testimony and performances of memory, all seeming to depend on the particular witness and the question asked. In the most inconsistent fashion, fascinating and exciting new testimony gives way to narrative in a flat legalistic tone that appears as little more than a prosaic list.

Reading the documents, one is aware of a difference - our great separation - from the mentality, feelings and concerns of the Indian witnesses that appeared before Visitador Noboa in 1657. One struggles, not

only to read, but to profoundly understand the meaning and significance of the stories, the reminiscenses and elements that are only implied; and one wonders what has really been told to the Spaniard and what has remained concealed.

The testimonies contain much repetition, introducing another problem to the interpretation of the evidence that can only be lessened by the historian's selective abilities. Classification seems a necessary evil of communication in any genre, and the sifting for what is most essential, exemplary and useful among the host of religious beliefs contained in the testimonies, is, at times, particularly difficult. Some elements described by different witnesses that are in close agreement can act as "stabilisers", as confirmation of a few suppositions. Other times, however, repetition is not so helpful. Description of points can be so exact as to be suspicious, causing one to wonder about the notary's criteria for the use of certain words and categories, or whether, perhaps, before the arrival of the tribunal the Indians had not decided in concert some of the ceremonies and practises they would reveal and portray in a certain way to the Spanish. Yet, while one laments the existence of the aforementioned challenges, it cannot be denied in the same breath that the documents contain a certain value

and a strength that make them unique and important historical sources.

The testimonies, at times, have a distinctly spontaneous and human air about them. They are disorganised, following the wandering recollections and thoughts of the witnesses themselves. Some things are forgotten for a moment and then returned to, others are mentioned out of context as if they have been suddenly remembered. Once one has read a good number of the declarations, one also gains some perspective on conspicuous concealment. At times it seems obvious that a witness is reluctant to provide some details or to implicate a certain person. This portrays the reality of the clandestine existence in which the indigenous cult operated out of necessity.

When the detailed narratives do break through the formalised language, what springs out is the subtle poetry of the lives of the people. On these occasions, the visita of idolatry is a most personable source. To provide one brief example from San Pedro de Hacas to illustrate this important point, one learns that before the cleaning of their irrigation ditches and the preparation of their plots of land (chacras) for sowing, the people made offerings to their agriculturalist ancestors, led in their observances by the village's chief religious leader, who always

repeated on these occasions:

> Lord malquis [ancestors], creators of the foods of the chacras, irrigation canals and the springs, receive this offering that we your children, give you. May there be good chacras and abundant food.[14]

After the offerings were made, the elders would tell the people of the deeds of their ancestors who had first worked the same land and built the irrrigation canals. Then, the work would begin. Simple, yet moving, through such relations it is possible to gain a certain appreciation for the people and their beliefs.

Thus, the real value of the visita of idolatry as a source exists in its distinctiveness from the common contemporary evidence. Unlike the chiefly Spanish reinterpretations of Andean narratives and the accounts and treatises that often had as their chief motives the assistance or justification of Crown or Church policy, in the idolatry trials the Indians do speak. In spite of the limitations, more closely than most anywhere else one can momentarily transcend the Spaniards' cognitive and ideological hindrances.

Sometimes the witnesses were Indians who served, in a sense, as spies and informers for the Spaniard in the Indian world; other times they were simply people who were confused and afraid, not knowing whose warning of their potential damnation to believe, that threatened in the sermons of the Catholic extirpator of idolatry,

or that urged by their local indigenous priests in the language of sacred tradition. Most often, the witnesses were ordinary people who saw eminent sense in what they believed, who proceeded in their faith, and whose confessions under interrogation seem to portray this combination of confidence and conviction. In the final analysis, whether the Indians testified before the visitador out of a sense of purpose in exposing and aiding in the eradication of the practices, out of fear, or out of a devotion that was both confident and fearless, the results were certainly clear in one sense. The testimonies taken by the visitador of idolatry offer perhaps the best opportunities that exist for illuminating insight into the local religious universe in the early colonial Andes.

In discussing the spiritual existence in San Pedro de Hacas in the mid-seventeenth century, this discussion will centre on presentation of a number of the principal festival observances. Of all the information in the visita testimonies, that which relates to the festivals seems to provide the most evidence pertaining to the realities facing Indian religious survival in the village. Because of the necessary narrowness of scope that this implies, this discussion can make no claim to a presentation of all

that made up the clandestine religious organisation in Hacas at the time.

Instead, this piece's small contribution, perhaps, lies mostly in its identification of some salient points in relation to the religious experience of an actual group of people in this seventeenth-century village. The product of their own conception of their origins, possessing their own local sets of priorities, and led in their spiritual observance and religious opposition by their own native sons, collectively, the people of Hacas represent a solitary example in indigenous America just over a century after the European arrival. Yet even within the micro-framework of Hacas, the complex set of conditions affecting the religiosities and outlooks of individuals still defies accurate categorisation. Perhaps it is only through focusing on a community and and a set of folk that this may be fully realised. Thus, limited to the particulars of its own space and time, the study's potential is perhaps best phrased a suggestive and delineative beginning.

INTRODUCTION NOTES :

1 Discussion of the significance of the designation of Indian religious survival as "idolatry" would be an interesting piece all its own. The biblical connotations of the word, and its use in the history of the Church gave it much of its connotative meaning. Idols were pagan, and people who worshipped them were believed under the influence of Satan. The very difference between the worship of idols and the veneration of images was a sensitive issue at a time when the Church and many of its practices were assailed by critics, and may have also heightened the Catholic attitude against that which was different, the former.

2 My use of the word "peasant" in reference to the early colonial Indian is due, in large part, to the convincing work of Karen Spalding and Steve J. Stern. See particularly K. Spalding, De indio a campesino: cambios en la estructura social del Perú colonial, (Lima, 1974) and Huarochirí: An Andean Society Under Inca and Spanish Rule, (Stanford, 1984); S.J. Stern, Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640, (Madison, 1982) and "New Approaches to the Study of Peasant Rebellion and Consciousness: Implications of the Andean Experience" in S.J. Stern (ed.), Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Centuries, (Madison, 1987), 3-28.

3 The interruption occurred when Visitador Noboa had to face charges laid against him by the Indians of various villages and towns of Cajatambo. See the document account of this in Pierre Duviols (ed.), Cultura andina y represión: procesos y visitas de idolatrías y hechicerías, Cajatambo, siglo XVII, (Cusco, 1986), 303-322.

4 Ibid., 135-262.

5 I note a great debt to the cataloguing efforts of Professor Lorenzo Huertas Vallejos and others in Peru, who, in 1967 collected an index of five surviving legajos (bundles) of idolatry trials in the A.A.L.. It was part of an ongoing process in this archive, as in 1950 Luís Bastos Girón had noted six of these extant in an unpublished cataloguing effort. In 1977, Dr. Huertas Vallejos was informed that another forty-nine legal

proceedings of this kind had been found, making up legajos six and seven. When I was in Peru in 1986, I was told that a few more idolatrías had come to light. For a catalogue of materials known as of 1981 see Apendice II in L. Huertas Vallejos, La religión en una sociedad rural andina (siglo XVII), (Huamanga, 1981), 121-146.

6 Ibid., 105.

7 C. Ginzburg, The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth Century Miller, translation: John and Anne Tedeschi, (Harmondsworth, 1982), xiii.

8 The most notable contributions that I am aware of with specific treatment of idolatry trials in Peru are L. Millones, Introducción al proceso de aculturación indígena, (Lima, 1967), Intoducción al estudio de las idolatrías, (Lima, 1969), Las religiones nativas del Perú: recuento y evaluación de su estudio, (Austin, 1978), "Religion and Power in the Andes: Idolatrous Curacas of the Central Sierra", Ethnohistory 26,(3), 143-263., "La religión indígena en la colonia" in Juan Mejía Baca (ed.), Historia del Perú, tomo V, (Lima, 1980), Los hechizos del Perú: continuidad y cambio en las religiones andinas, siglos XVI-XVIII, (Ayacucho, 1981), Historia y poder en los Andes centrales (desde los orígines al siglo XVII), en prensa; Pierre Duviols,"Huari y llacuaz. Agricultores y pastores: un dualismo prehispánico de oposición y complementaridad", Revista del Museo Nacional del Perú, tomo XXXIX,(Lima, 1973), 153-191., La Lutte Contre les Religions Autochtones dans le Pérou Colonial. L'Extirpation de L'Idolâtrie Entre 1532 et 1660, (Lima, 1971), Cultura andina; L. Huertas Vallejos; Irene Silverblatt, "Dioses y diablos: idolatrías y evangelización", Allpanchis XVI, (19), (Cusco, 1982), 31-48., Moon, Sun and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru, (Princeton, 1986); A.M. Wightman, "Diego Vasicuio: Native Priest" in D.G. Sweet and G.B. Nash (eds.), Struggle and Survival in Colonial America, (Berkeley, 1981), 38-48.; Frank Salomon, "Ancestor Cults and Resistance to the State in Arequipa, ca. 1748-1754" in S.J. Stern (ed.), Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness. In addition, on the authority of Professor James Lockhart, I understand Mary Doyle is currently completing a dissertation at the University of California, Los Angeles, on ancestor cults, based on these trials.

9 P. J. de Arriaga, The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru, translation and edition: L.Clark Keating, (Lexington, 1968), 113.

10 Ibid., 107-113.

11 Ibid., 114.

12 See Gustav Henningsen's fascinating book, The Witches' Advocate: Basque Witchcraft and the Spanish Inquisition, (Reno, 1980).

13 G. Henningsen and J. Tedeschi, "Introduction" in G. Henningsen, J. Tedeschi with C. Amiel (ed.), The Inquisition in Early Modern Europe: Studies on Sources and Methods, (DeKalb, 1986), 10. All references to "filters" in this paragraph are in reference to this. See also J. Tedeschi "The Roman Inquisition and Witchcraft: An Early Seventeenth Century "Instruction" on Correct Trial Procedure", Revûe de l'histoire des Religions 200, (1), 1983, 163-188., and the study by J.P. Demos, Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England, (Oxford, 1982), especially the first three chapters, 3-314. I thank Professor Eric Van Young for steering me towards the last two sources.

14 Fol. 12, Duviols, Cultura andina, 149. The original "oración" is collected in his appendix number three, 531, and reads:

> Yayaquaricuna micuicama puchacamac
> ticssicamac parcoyoc chacrayoc
> caitamicui caita vpiai
> churiquicuna harpasunqui
> allinchacrachun allin micui-cachum.

II THE EXTIRPATION OF IDOLATRY :

The Roman Catholic Church began its intrusion into the spiritual history of the indigenous peoples of continental America in New Spain. The conqueror of Mexico, Hernán Cortés, had asked the emperor and king, Charles V, for religious of the Franciscan order to begin the glorious and monumental task of the Christianisation of America, and the famous "Twelve" arrived in 1524.[1] The first half-century of Spanish presence, in a spiritual sense, was dominated by the missionary élan and the seemingly tireless conversion efforts of these self-proclaimed "apostles of the Indians" and others like them who gave themselves to the mission in America. This was the heroic period described by Robert Ricard's concept, "Spiritual Conquest", describing the history of these early Franciscans and missionaries of other orders.[2] The earliest Spanish religious to come to the New World left behind a Catholic Europe threatened by Turkish advances, heirarchical decadence and the the spreading threat of Protestantism. In the New World they set out after fresh new souls, the Indians' souls, regarded as God's "compensation" for all those being lost in Europe. And yet, the "City of God" that some envisioned in America soon proved more a millenarian ideal inspired by old prophecies than anything that

would easily come into being.[3]

Even the Franciscan father Bernardino de Sahagún, who so labouriously collected information on the beliefs and customs of the Aztec peoples of ancient Mexico, recognised that it would be only through persistent vigilance that the faith would win in "so poor a soil".[4] The Spanish perceived Evil, the influence of Satan in America, and even the missionaries most opposed to the use of force in Christianisation were agreed that it had to be eradicated. Sahagún, himself, wrote

> Why, Lord God, have you permitted the Enemy of mankind to rule so long over this poor helpless people?...I pray your Divine Majesty to see to it that there, where crime and darkness abounded, Grace and Light may abound.[5]

The Spanish mission in America was, of course, concerned with more than the salvation of the Indians' souls; imperial power was a dual entity, and was papally sanctioned as such. Thus, the Church and Crown endeavoured to move in unison. The forceful aspects of the military and political conquest cannot, in the end, be much separated from the spiritual enterprise.[6] Even in the age of the great missionary efforts an undercurrent of force had made itself felt. In many cases, early Spanish conversion efforts had come to mean little more than the destruction of the most evident manifestations of this diabolical paganism, the

idols and temples, and the encouragement of the practices of mass baptism of Indians who, even if they had accepted the conquerors' religion as dominant, had little, if any, understanding of the faith.[7]

As the last battle that wrested the Iberian Peninsula from the Moors ended, the Spanish conquerors had turned their attention to the Indians of America.[8] Of all Europeans at this time, the Spaniards were undoubtedly most directed against the infidel and religious deviant. Spain was the bastion of orthodoxy and the principal bearer of a crusading Counter-Reformation Catholicism in late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe. Her reputation as The Christian Kingdom had been won in united assaults of Church and Crown against Judaism, Islam, withcraft and heresy, and would again prove militant against the Lutheran princes in Germany and Flanders. With the discovery of America, Spain had only to expand her field of play. Indian religion, as even Sahagun admitted, was perceived as "demonic", and some peoples' early hopes of achieving a compromise between native beliefs and the conquering Catholicism were soon abandoned. If the Indians persisted in their error in spite of the missionaries' efforts to initiate them into the Christian faith, it was decided - in official circles - that they would have to be forced to obey.[9]

This ushered in the Spanish attempt to abolish any vestiges that remained of the pre-Hispanic indigenous religions. In New Spain, Ricard called this the "policy of rupture", and in Peru, Nathan Wachtel characterised it a "destructuration".[10] In either context it was to be accomplished through the smashing of idols and temples, the pointed attack on the indigenous cult of the ancestors and the hasty mass baptisms of the Indians. Official policy intended to completely break their resistant religious will. In this second phase, the Church sought out the persistent sacerdotal elements in Indian society, the troublesome revivalists who had often adapted their sorcery and teaching of the others to underground observances and instruction, and who, at times, were even found to have borrowed some of the more attractive elements of the conquerors' religion.

In New Spain, the Yucatan, and, most notably for our discussion, in Peru, the official approach to idolatrous survivals became "in its ends and methods" much like the Inquisition's struggle against heresy in the peninsula and much of Europe.[11] This is not to say that missionary Christianity did not continue in Spanish America and that it did not have its followers, as it most certainly did. But with time, it became more and more separated from the approach taken by the

official Church. In Peru, while individual religious voices condemned the methods and the results of persecution, the Church took the more aggressive tack - the course akin with the age - and largely rejected persuasion as a means of getting anywhere quickly in the Christianisation process. As Spalding has written, there was

> a cast to the temper and the actions of the Church in the Andes that was lacking for much of the first decades of the Spanish presence in Mesoamerica.[12]

In Peru, for the Spanish govarnors, this was augmented by a number of things, not the least of which was the dreadful prospect of popular rebellion. Spanish fears of the Indian underclass which vastly outnumbered them, and concerns with the surviving Indian religion as an evil and seditious element among the early colonial masses, were effectively confirmed with the emergence of the Taqui Onqoy movement in the central and southern Andes in the 1560s. It was, in short, a religious message spread among the Indians by preacher-prophets (in this instance called taquiongos) from among their own number, of an apocalyptic "overturning" of the world, in which the vanquished Indian deities would be resurrected to defeat the Christian God, and thus the Spaniards.[13] In response, two officials, Cristóbal de Molina and Cristóbal de Albornoz, were commissioned as visitadores

of idolatry and sent out to inspect what the Church clearly saw as both heretical and seditious. The millenarian preaching and immediate threat in the areas around Huamanga (modern Ayacucho), Cusco and Arequipa, ended with the visitadores'arrest and banishment of the leaders of the movement before any real connection seems to have been made between these ideological rebels and the rebel neo-Inka state that kept up its defiance in the remote region of Vilcabamba.[14]

Viceroy Francisco de Toledo's attention to the Andean area after 1570 tightened colonial control in Peru and utilised, to its full effect, the visita general as a means of closely monitoring the Indian area. At this time there was inaugurated in Peru the precedent of a more systematised form of persecution of Indian idolatry. The stage was set for what would represent the culmination of the employment of force in the struggle against Indian religious survival, the seventeenth-century Extirpation.

* * *

The Extirpation, itself, was established at the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century. This founding era could be said to have been the official Church's realisation of the fact that after almost a century of Catholic presence in Peru, Indian religious error was widespread. Reports told of far more than

the persistence of a few traditional beliefs, or a form of worship in which the Indians were confused by some aspects of the Catholic doctrine. It seemed that some Indians were clinging whole-heartedly to their prohibited pagan faiths, in rejection of the European efforts to convert them. What the Spanish termed "error" and "idolatry" persisted among many Indians for interrelated reasons: in part because they remained deeply attached to their ancient ways, and in a more complicated sense, in part because they resisted total religious assimilation into a faith that forbade their deities and vital connections in the Andean cosmos.

In roughly three-quarters of a century, the missionaries, the parish priests and the Spanish inspectors, had - for the most part - collectively failed in the task of prosetylisation. The Indian masses of the Andes still remained to be won to the banner. Winning them over at this point meant either devoted efforts at persuasion and instruction, or further recourse to the use of force. The founding of the Extirpation marked the triumph of the supporters of force. In its beginnings, the institution was nurtured by sympathetic officials foreshadowing its seemingly complete reliance on powerful patronage for its existence. In its operations the Extirpation flourished intermittently in the seventeenth century in

Peru, depending for its support on whoever held the archiepiscopal and viceregal chairs, until its slow demise after the death of its last great proponent, the Archbishop Don Pedro de Villagómez, in 1671.

The examination of Bernardo de Noboa conducted in Hacas in 1657 occurred this long tenure of Archbishop Villagómez in Peru (1631-1671). The confrontation in Hacas cannot be seen in a vacuum. While its findings may be somewhat unique, Noboa's visita was very much a creature of what had come before. Discussion of some of the salient points in the course of the religious and cultural confrontation launched by the Extirpation serves to place actions in perspective, and makes a number of the elements to be discussed more comprehensible.

Dr. Francisco de Avila ia perhaps the most significant personage in the founding of the Extirpation. His persistent urgings and tireless efforts were instrumental at a time when the Church's struggle against the survival of indigenous expressions of religion escalated from the level of missionary vigilance to that of a systematic campaign of persecution. In this, it must be granted, Avila was not alone, but still, one cannot diminish his individual significance in promoting the campaign of extirpation as a solution to persistent idolatry in the

Andes.

Born to unknown parents in Cusco about 1573, it is said that he was left as a small child on the doorstep of a Spanish essayist.[15] Among Spanish society in Peru, consciousness of rank and purity of blood were a crucial part of one's social respectability; even the suspicion that one was tainted by Indian, or for that matter Jewish or Lutheran, blood seriously hampered one's standing and opportunity. Though Avila claimed himself a creole (an American-born child of Spanish parentage), the fact that his parents were never identified made this appear dubious in a lineage-conscious society. Avila, a good student[16], and a young aspirant to an ecclesiastical career, would have known that since 1591 the Archbishop Toribio de Mogrovejo had refused to ordain even one mestizo.[17]

In a society so rigidly defined, he would need more than his adoptive father's position and influence to transcend the suspicion of his blood. Avila's achievements, his success in the conquerors' world, would clearly be the product of his own volition. This has been convincingly argued as a possible explanation for the extraordinary committment that Avila would eventually show in the extirpation of Indian idolatry. As Karen Spalding stated, it is certainly not

> far-fetched to assume that Avila's total dedication to the elimination of traditional beliefs and practices among the Indians stemmed in good measure from the fact that his identity as a member of European society was totally dependent upon his own action.[18]

His rapid rise showed his ability for individual action. He was noted in his earliest curate (c.1597) for his preaching on the evils of idolatry among the Indians. Here, Avila also faced accusations made against him by the Indians of the parish charging mistreatment, forced work without pay and a failure to perform basic sacerdotal duties. While he was cleared in the first instance, these charges against him continued, and a number of visitas were sent to his parish expressly to inspect his conduct.[19] In August of 1608, while Avila was back in his parish awaiting trial on similar charges in Lima, the priest of the neighboring parish of Huarochirí, obviously more impressed with Avila's renown as a sermoniser than his alleged misconduct, invited him to deliver a sermon at the Feast of the Assumption. Avila would later claim his participation in this event to have been an act of fate itself.

Avila reflected that on the road to Huarochirí he happened upon a Christian Indian, an "indio affecto a la religión", who revealed to him the true significance of the feast to the Indians of the area. Beneath the

exterior of a Catholic celebration, for the Indians, it was really a time set aside to make important offerings and service to the idols Pariacaca and Chaupinamca.[20] Avila claimed that this information a mystical sign of divine guidance. As Piere Duviols writes,

> this date had, according to our doctor, the value of a revelation, and beginning from this date - 15 August 1608 - he surrendered himself entirely to the struggle against idolatry.[21]

The results of Avila's charged sermon and the threats he made to the Indians on that feast day, revealed to him the "iceberg" below the traces of idolatrous behaviour that he had long suspected. Later efforts confirmed his beliefs. The Indians' wak'as - sacred objects that could be stones, boulders or special sites - and their ancestors still commanded the Indians' faith. In one day of an idolatry investigation he later conducted at his own expense, he boasted that two hundred wak'as were brought to his attention.[22] Personally, he used his discoveries to fortify his claim that the charges against him were laid by Indians who had conspired to achieve the removal of the priest who had set out so vigorously to reveal the heart of their idolatrous secrets. In a larger sense, he desired to convince the highest officials in Lima that the Indians did have something to hide, a clandestine cult of their idols and

ancestors existing below the external trappings of an Orthodox Catholic faith. At his own defense, he crowned his testimony with a pious call for a visita to be sent at once with himself at the head.

Dr. Avila and his retinue returned to Lima from their visita of idolatry to the mountains of Huarochirí in mid-October 1609 with a collection of stones, idols, skulls, bones and corpses, along with an Indian "dogmatiser" named Hernando Pauccar. Avila's own attitude towards the religion he was exposing in the Indian parishes found expression in his description of these things of sacred value to the Indians; his tone was that of mockery in writing,

> all the idols are little stones, ridiculous things, nothing of silver or gold, and there was one Indian who had as his idol that he longed for, a black silk button with golden thread that he had found.[23]

The 20 December 1609 was to be the day of Dr. Avila's auto-de-fé. In the main plaza of Lima two platforms had been constructed, between which was a conspicuously large supply of firewood (the air is moist in Lima, and as Rubén Vargas Ugarte has aptly noted, "it was so embarrassing when these things went badly"[24]). Strewn among the wood were all of the idols and mummified bodies of Indian ancestors (malquis) brought from the mountain parish for the occasion. Just beyond the great pile, tied to a high

post, was the Indian priest, Hernando Pauccar. Francisco de Avila addressed the crowd in a pulpit constructed for this purpose. Before him were a mass of Indians who had been summoned from the surrounding area to stand and be edified in the plaza that day, all the Spanish officials of the capital, and the Viceroy and Archbishop, who viewed the proceeding from their respective balconies. Speaking first in Quechua and then in Spanish, the sentence of the Indian priest was delivered.

The penalty was harsh as the affair was meant to be exemplary. First, the Indian's head was shaved, as by this time the Spanish knew that this was a traditional Andean symbol of shame. He was then whipped two hundred times as he hung on the pole to which he was tied. What was left of Hernando Pauccar was then taken to a prison where he would await transport to permanent exile in the Jesuit Colegio in Chile.[25] As a climax, the huge fire was lit, destroying the material presence of the idols, ornaments and corpses that had been gathered in the mountain villages.

Avila's visita and the auto-de-fé he engineered a few days before Christmas in 1609 must be seen as more than simply his own blatant efforts at achieving vindication and triumph in the eyes of his superiors. He had consciously broken with the established practice

(in Toledan times) of burning cult objects in the communities concerned. This, of course, had been done with the intent of impressing the Indians whose idolatry had been exposed with the seriousness of their sin and the wrath of the agents of the Christian God. The fact that he had transported the idols, bodies and religious objects from the mountain parish to Lima on the coast for an auto-de-fé of pomp and magnificence suggests that Avila's visita, and certainly the "show" to follow, was not meant for the idolatrous Indians of Huarochirí. They had been spared the full treatment in light of Avila's larger political intentions.

What better way than the intimate experience of an auto-de-fé to stimulate the viceroy, the archbishop and other influential parties in Lima into seeing the extent of the problem that he himself perceived. He easily accomplished his goal in the case of the newly arrived Archbishop of Lima, Don Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero.[26] The archbishop gave his support instantly, and it would be under the auspices of both the Archbishop and the indefatigable Avila that the "Extirpation - with a capital 'E'", as Pierre Duviols has put it [27], gained its first roots in Peru. Perhaps Avila's zeal had only brought into focus that which was already apparent to other religious in the Andean parishes, or possibly, the arrival of the new

archbishop favourably disposed to Avila and his methods had awakened attention. In any event, it became immediately clear to Lobo Guerrero that Avila, by himself, was not going to be sufficient. Reports of discoveries of caches of idols and entombed ancestors poured into Lima from the Andean parishes of the archdiocese.[28] The archbishop took advantage of the sudden zeal that seemed to have enveloped churchmen in rural Peru, and that year he commissioned as visitadores of idolatry a number of priests and religious men who were eager for what was undoubtedly a promotion and an opportunity to participate in a most pious task. Among these, a few emerge as important to the course of the extirpation of idolatry as a whole: Hernando de Avendaño, Rodrigo Hernández Príncipe and Dr. Diego Ramírez. Undeniably, Dr. Avila's discoveries and persistence, the unqualified support for a series of visitas that came from the archbishop, and all of the interest and action that had been aroused had vaulted the problem of Indian idolatry to the status of an issue of prominence in Lima. Yet reaping the benefits of any enthusiasm among the high officialdom in Lima proved a slower process at first.

The Viceroy, the Marquis of Montesclaros, a learned man, an accomplished poet and an aspirant mystic, was initially skeptical of the suitability of applying such

force against indigenous "idolatry".[29] However, in the face of growing pressure for a uniform and powerful response to what was perceived as an intolerable evil, the viceroy's inclination isolated him amidst the official circles of Church and State power in Peru. The fact horribly apparent to many early seventeenth-century European Catholic minds was that baptised Indians who often made the pretense of orthodoxy were worshipping idols and were living their religious lives according to beliefs that had been held by their pagan ancestors.

Arguments that sought to portray the Indians as simple neophytes to the faith, or that asserted that they were incapable of understanding the Catholic faith in all its profundity - while these undoubtedly prevailed in some minds - were well-worn by the seventeenth century. Arguably, as a defense for the Indians' religious resistance, they had been worn to the point of transparency in the eyes of men such as Archbishop Lobo Guerrero and his first visitador, Francisco de Avila. Still, the issue had two sides, and the debate hinged on the official judgement made by the colonial government concerning the character of the "religious wrongs" being uncovered in the Indian parishes. Was there an excuse? Were the beliefs and practises most correctly pagan in the seventeenth

century, or were they, by this time, apostasy ? The difference was of crucial importance.

That the worship of ancestor-spirits, stones, idols and springs had continued after the assumed Christian conquest of Peru was an evil in itself to the European minds. Such sins were classified as obstinate paganism - usually thought to be the product of an ignorance of God - involving the worship of false deities that could be nothing but the inspiration of the Enemy of God and man, Satan. That there was a distinct probability that this religion existed beneath the guise of, or even interrelated with, Christianity, elevated the issue to a whole new level of abhorrence, and thus, importance. If one had faith in baptism as the invitation to spiritual growth in the Catholic religion, and if one believed that the evangelisation efforts had provided sufficient opportunity to foster the dialogue that had been begun between the Saviour and the convert, then the Indians' failure to capitulate in the seventeenth century differed from an exhibition of obstinate paganism. Arguably, their religious crimes should be construed as more appropriately the province of the Inquisition than the ecclesiastical visita. The suggestion was far from being out of the question and received some high-powered support in years to

come.[30]

The lay and ecclesiastical officials in Lima were learned men of their day, many of them educated at Salamanca and Sevilla, and recommended to positions in America by no less than kings and popes. It is hardly mere speculation to suggest that the formulation of their attitudes, and subsequently, their approach to the survival of indigenous religion in Peru, would be connected to their European experience. Long traditions of what were, arguably, similar sorts of underground currents of heresy and dissent existed in Spain and Europe as a whole. As has been noted above, clandestine Judaism, Islam, "popular" religion and witchcraft, a whole host of heresies, and latest to the list, Lutheranism, were all "evils" that had attracted official wrath in Spain and elsewhere. Indian religion in America was a different entity in a new context, and yet, to the mind laden with the intellectual baggage of European experience and education perhaps it was not as much so. In the era of the Counter-Reformation, and an age that saw the Roman Church assailed by so many agents of the Enemy, Indian idolatry may well have represented another challenge. The Indians had been offered Christianity, many had been baptised, and a good number could be said to have, at least, attended Mass and observed the Feasts when they were asked.

Thus, if some others were proven in investigations to have slid back into error, or if they had persisted in their evil all along, the prospect of using force against them comes into focus.

Still, amid the concern there remained uncertainty. What also affected the attitude of officialdom on this subject were the words and appeals of those few who had some first-hand experience with Indian idolatry in the earliest visitas of the century. Aside from Avila and Avendaño, paramount among these spokesmen in Peru was Father Pablo José de Arriaga. His treatise, the Extirpation of 1621, recognised the Indian practices as inherently evil, and he certainly did not preclude the Devil from influence in the Andes. He stated that he believed in taking action against Indian religion to accomplish the will of God, in his own words, "by uprooting the undergrowth and roots of their errors."[31] But, he was even more adamant on the other aspect of the problem that has been alluded to, an aspect that was hardly the Indians' fault. The Church had failed as well.

> The first [cause of the continued idolatry] is their vast ignorance of the matters of our faith, because they have not been taught to them, and the false conviction which they continue to hold concerning their huacas [wak'as] and superstitions, of which they have not been disallusioned.[32]

Father Arriaga's ultimate solution, then, seems to have

reflected the belief that Indian idolatry in the seventeenth century, while it was not completely paganism, was not properly apostasy either.[33]

While some Indians had rejected the Christianity they had been offered and chose to believe other things, he recognised that a large number had never possessed enough of an understanding of Christianity to reject it, and thus be classed apostates. The ultimate solution to idolatry was embodied in this early Extirpation. Ideally, it would rationally combine precisely the right amount of force with the instruction and continued guidance that was also necessary to make efforts lasting. It was this basic argument - interestingly buoyed even at this point, by the supporters of a "harder line" than the Jesuit Arriaga - that won out in the second and third decades of the seventeenth century in Peru.

The Archbishop Lobo Guerrero continued his support of the initiative that increased the attention being paid to idolatry in Indian parishes in the second decade of the seventeenth century. After 15 December 1615 and the arrival in Lima of the new Viceroy, Francisco de Borja y Aragón, the Prince of Esquilache, the Archbishop and the Extirpation would receive another advocate.[34] A noble with close connections in the most illustrious houses of Spain and Naples,

Esquilache's appointment in Peru was King Philip III's recognition of his power.[35] Convinced by the urgings of Lobo Guerrero, a certain Dr. Alberto de Acuña of the Audiencia and others in the capital, the Prince of Esquilache seems to have thrown his support behind the Extirpation almost instantly.[36] If Dr. Avila and Archbishop Lobo Guerrero had begun the seventeenth-century institution, then it would be the combined efforts of Esquilache and the archbishop that would represent the support behind the true mobilisation against the persistence of idolatrous rites among the Indians.[37] A brief review of their nearly concurrent governments, beyond illustrating their recognition of idolatry as the most serious hindrance to Indian conversion, provides a catalogue of actions in the interest of the Extirpation. Both officials strove to entrench the campaigns of visitas of idolatry as the Church's most effective instruments of cultural repression in the Andes.

The initial organisation and the first campaign of visitas that conducted a sporadic series of investigations in the archdiocese was the primary step, and had been very much Lobo Guerrero's doing. A skeleton of operations was in place when Esquilache arrived. A body of hand-picked visitadores had been dispatched with similar general instructions as those

given to Francisco de Avila in 1610. Accompanying each visitador to a specified region of operation was to be a notary, a prosecutor and two or three Jesuit fathers. Other general functionaries would also be included in the retinue. To the visitador of idolatry was granted wide juridical power - not only to examine witnesses, but also to punish. The fathers of the Society of Jesus were to assist the visitador in exhorting the Indians in giving testimonies, and in the preaching and receiving of confession that was also to be a part of the visita of idolatry.

In light of the debates that would occur later in the century between the Extirpation and Jesuits, one must note the unqualified Jesuit support at this early stage. Reflecting in his Extirpation, Father Arriaga went so far as to attribute a crucial role to the Jesuits in the winning of support for the organisation. "With all this effort", he writes,

> some persons began to be persuaded of the existence of idolatry among the Indians, and if doubts still remained among the skeptical, they disappeared upon the arrival of the fathers of our Society who came to aid Dr. Avila in his glorious enterprise.[38]

Visita procedure in Peru became more defined with practice, but in its theory, it closely adhered to that which was prescribed in the main inquisitorial manuals of Europe.[39] In the old world context, the method of

inquisitio, or "making inquisition", had its traditional usage in the interrogation of common criminals. The procedure, however, proved remarkably adaptable to the religious persecution of heretics, and just after the Council of Verona in 1184, Pope Lucius III, in his decree Ad abolendam, formally instituted the method as accepted procedure against those suspected of heresy.[40]

By papal order, all archbishops and bishops were to conduct "visitations" through their dioceses "once or twice a year to...every parish where there was suspicion of heresy."[41] After reading an edict, it was stipulated that in each locality two or three "men of good character" were to be sought out and required to reveal any heretics in their midst, or "any person holding secret conventicles, or in any way differing in mode of life from the faithful."[42] It was a serious offence to knowingly hide anyone who was known to be heretical and doing so would put the person guilty of such concealment under suspicion. It would be largely upon this base of procedure to be followed by episcopal tribunals that the Holy Office of the Inquisition would be erected in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Thus, precedent was in place long before the Spanish were in America.

In Peru, the Inquisition was formally established

in 1570, according to the European model. It did not apply to the Indians. However, indirectly, the Holy Office had laid the groundwork of established procedures. The similarities to the recommendations on procedure to be followed by visitadores of idolatry laid out by Lobo Guerrero, and most comprehensively, by Arriaga's treatise in 1621, owe an obvious debt to established practice.

Upon arrival in a village, the visitador of idolatry was to proclaim an "edict of grace" to the Indians, thus allowing three days for them to appear before him to reveal their idols and expose the chief ministers and hechiceros (sorcerors) of the village along with any other notorious idolaters or practices. From his experience, Arriaga recommended campaigns that would move through a series of villages using accusations gained in different communities against one another to improve the entire campaign's efficiency. He stated that

> it is...useful, before one enters the town to be visited, and as one leaves the previous one, to have some idea of the principal huacas [wak'as] and sorcerors to be encountered.[43]

The questions to be pursued by the visitador once he had set up his tribunal - usually in the church - could be summarised as having the following main intentions: the determining of the village's religious

leaders, the identification of the idols and malquis (the ancestors' mummified bodies) that were worshipped, finding the nature and time of year of the indigenous worship, learning the wealth and possessions of the Indians' waka's, and of any traditions and practices that ran counter to Catholic teaching, and finally, establishing the level of understanding in the village of the faith itself.[44] After all of the examinations, confessions and accusations had been taken and dutifully recorded, sentences would be read and an auto-de-fé would be held in the plaza of the community before the eyes of the people, destroying by fire the bodies of ancestors and the cult objects that had been collected.

The early visitas confirmed the fears of the extent of indigenous religious survival and the belief that the Indians' embrace of Christianity - as a religion meaningful and understood - was slight, and in some places nonexistent. An even more organised assault was launched after 1617 by Viceroy Esquilache and Archbishop Lobo Guerrero. The troop of visitadores included Dr. Avila; Dr. Diego Ramírez, the parish priest of Santa Ana de Lima; the Licentiate Hernando de Avendaño, then active in the mission of San Pedro de Casta in Huarochirí and later priest and bishop of Charcas; Licentiate Rodrigo Hernández Príncipe;

Licentiate Juan Delgado, parish priest of Huaraz; and Dr. Alonso Osorio.[45] The official support in Lima for giving the Extirpation all the power that was needed to operate at full efficiency, and the action this had provoked, gave the institution a growing appearance of permanency.

Correspondingly, policy was more defined, and the viceroy and archbishop had clearly decided that the best approach to improving the state of Catholicism in the mountain parishes would be to concentrate on two specific elements in Indian society: the old and the most "stategic" of the young. The policy would involve the removal of the most harmful element among the "old", this being the obstinate traditional religious officials. It would also be a new attempt at seeing that orthodox beliefs reached the element that represented the most strategic and potentially least corrupted in the Indian areas, the young local heirs to positions of authority.

Despite colonial efforts to erode their authority among the Indians, the old ministers of idols and village sorcerors continued to provide the most potent obstacle to the triumph of Christianity in the local Indian atmosphere. While much of the discussion of the power of these Indian "religious caudillos"[46] is best deferred to a later chapter in relation to specific

individuals in San Pedro de Hacas, some basic points illustrate the Spaniards' concern with them. As the principal guardians of tradition in the villages, the ministers continually professed their own vital connections with the powers perceived in the Andean universe. They perpetuated a kind of supernatural authority very much akin to Indian beliefs, and commanded the people through a mystification that was periodically reinforced by exhibitions of their power. The religious leader's spiritual activities usually included such things as foretelling the future, prophesying on the outcomes of disputes, performing acts of healing and mediating between the worlds of the living and the dead. The archbishop and viceroy, in constituting a fully empowered Extirpation, recognised the necessity of removing these subversives from the environs where their power was so difficult to diminish.

A letter dated 15 April 1617 from Viceroy Esquilache to the king told of a great prison being constructed in the Cercado (central enclosure) in Lima. It was destined to be the place of detention for these primarily aged members of the Indian villages who had been judged "beyond help" and a grave danger to the faith of others. The Casa de Santa Cruz (the House of the Holy Cross), as the prison was called, was put

under the supervision of appointed Jesuit fathers. In Santa Cruz, Esquilache wrote, these "dogmatisers" were to be "kept busy and instructed, [and] deprived of communication with other Indians, because in doing this", he continued,"one attacks the infection (contagión) that their evil doctrine makes rampant among others."[47] The only other sentence that the Extirpation deemed appropriate for these, the worst offenders, was service on the galleys in the port of Callao.

Condemnation to a term in the Casa de Santa Cruz was, in effect, only a more polite equivalent of what the Holy Office called the "relaxing" of a prisoner to the secular arm for justice to be done. The Indian ministers were not burnt at the stake by civil authorities, but most who went to Santa Cruz would die there. In theory, sentences were set at specified terms in which the Indian would suffer manual labour to pay for his sins (usually making textiles), and also be forced to attend to the instruction of Jesuit fathers. Unconditional release after a sentence had been served demanded some cooperation on the part of the convicted religious offender. If a convincing exhibition of conversion or, most preferably, a public abjuration of past sins, was performed, the person might be permitted to return to his community. Rubén Vargas Ugarte S.J.,

however, describes this as having been very rare, noting further, that by 1620 the Casa de Santa Cruz had already accumulated forty residents.[48] Most of these people would have been over fifty or sixty years of age, set in their ways, and very likely prepared to die for what they believed. Few seem to have chosen to renounce their "error" to the Spanish.

Father Arriaga was the first supervisor of Santa Cruz, and it was he that oversaw much of its construction. He had been involved in nearly all facets of the early Extirpation - examination and preaching, as well as punishment - and he was a solid supporter of the imprisonment of the ministers of idols of the Archdiocese of Lima in the central location. In his treatise he even included that

> it would be useful to have a place like it in each bishopric, and with a little good fortune it would be easy to support one. Where there is no house to confine them in, we could divide them among the monasteries, hospitals, and other establishments of pious folk to be kept, taught and supported.[49]

In addition, Arriaga even foresaw the fact that if the extirpators' efforts kept on at the rate they were going, even with the utilisation of monasteries and hospitals, there would be far too many Indian ministers and dogmatisers to handle. In this event, he offered

as a solution that only the very worst offenders of the respective towns be taken to the idolaters' prisons to "frighten the rest".[50] The lesser of the dangerous offenders, Arriaga advised, could remain in their villages on the provision that they were made conspicuous in their service to the church, attendance at Mass, and that they be forced to be present during the Christian instruction of the children and be made to sit among them. Any of these ministers that were judged to be continuing their practices to insure a modest income because of their poverty, were to be identified and helped with alms.[51]

In performance of the second part of the policy, the Prince of Esquilache, working closely with Lobo Guerrero, founded the Colegio del Príncipe - the College of the Prince. This pedagogical institution, also to be run by the Jesuits in the centre of Lima, was designed to instill loyalty and faith in the sons of kurakas, the heirs of the local and regional Indian nobilities. The establishment of the Colegio was in keeping with a similar policy used by the Inka in pre-Hispanic times. Recognition of the kuraka's place in the ayllu and community-oriented balance of power was just as astute in both cases. In pre-Hispanic times, the sons of local nobles from throughout Tawantinsuyu would be taken to the centre of the realm,

Cusco, to be trained in Quechua, the art of government, and most importantly, the ways of a loyal subject in the Inka state. In the same fashion as the Lords of Cusco, the Spanish saw the benefits that would accrue from having Hispanised and Christian young men succeeding to these important positions in Indian society.

What the Colegio was designed to do was lessen the number of kurakas that might fall into either of two broad categories. The first characteristically turned themselves completely away from the world of the conquerors, rejecting benefits that were offered by economic integration and compliance, and refusing the imposition of Catholic Christianity. The one benefit to the Spanish in this case was that this kuraka, who vehemently attempted to lead his people in a closed inward existence, was relatively easy to uncover. The second type were ultimately more dangerous from a Spanish perspective. They were kurakas that became "cultural chameleons", walking the fine line between involving themselves between involving themselves in the Spanish framework as much as was deemed necessary, and still protecting the lines of communication and traditional religious allegiance with their Indian subjects.[52]

The kuraka that was desired, of course, was one

that integrated himself, as much as an Indian could possibly be allowed, in the Spanish world. This would mean such things as learning the Spanish language, adopting customs of dress and living, participating in the cash economy, collecting tribute from the Indians, and providing assistance to the parish priest in the maintenance of the Catholic faith among the people. As the Colegio del Príncipe's masters in indoctrination there were no better candidates than the Jesuits.

Almost since its very foundation in 1540, the order's great contribution to the Roman Church's growing challenges of heresy and infidelity in Europe and abroad had been its skill at demagogy. In Europe, Jesuit instruction sought to beat the threat of Protestantism by changing the emphases of education from the outdated medieval teaching of blind religiosity that was being rebelled against, to what was humanistic and contemporary. As F.A. Ridley put it, in their aim to instill the people with a "new Catholicism", the Jesuits effectively "baptised the pagan culture of antiquity; [and] they Christianised the Renaissance."[53] In founding seminaries and schools the desire of Loyola and the Jesuits to follow was that youths from regions that had fallen away from Catholicism, or that were fast-threatening to do so, could be "properly" educated to later return to their

lands to revive the faith.[54]

In Peru, the ideas behind the establishment of the Colegio in Lima seem to ring of much the same logic as the Counter-Reformation Jesuit schools. Father Arriaga of the Society revealed his committment to the Jesuit aphorism that "the earliest impressions are the strongest" in his treatise.

> The only way to make the kurakas and caciques behave is to begin at the beginning and instruct their children so that from childhood they may learn the Christian discipline and doctrine.[55]

As had been the case with the Casa de Santa Cruz, Father Arriaga was not content with what he saw as only a beginning in the Colegio del Príncipe, and he praised the establishment of similar "boarding schools" in Cusco and in Charcas (La Plata in what is Argentina).[56] The teaching was seen as an essential part of the full campaign against Indian idolatry, and was, as we shall see, the hinge upon which Jesuit support of the Extirpation rested.

What the advocates of instruction were calling for in supporting this aspect of the Extirpation was part of a desired universal improvement in attention to Christian teaching among the Indians. Yet, in its application to the sons of kurakas, the Colegio was only a small part of what would be a long and difficult task of rooting the faith among a large number of

people who, we may assume, might resent those who had given in. What was really being delivered in the form of the Colegio del Príncipe was not a devoted attention at all. It was more of a guided repression. Admittedly, kurakas such as the one to be discussed below in relation to Hacas desired and encouraged their sons' attendance of the school in Lima in the hopes of better preparing them for their eventual dealings with the Spanish world. However, whether individual kurakas were supportive of it or not, for the Spanish, it amounted to politically expedient schooling aimed at the education of an Indian elite in the hopes of creating a new class of local Indian leaders indoctrinated and subservient to Spanish rule. There was a unity of purpose in the aims of Church and State, and the victory of Catholicism among these people was in the interest of more effective rule. Arriaga wrote:

> When we have won over the curacas [kurakas], there is no difficulty about discovering the huacas [wak'as] and idolatrous practises. They must be used to this end, and those who are stubborn and rebellious, as some are, should have all the rigour of the law applied to them.[57]

The Colegio had its defined targets, and as for creating a means to foster an understanding of the faith in the Indian parishes as a whole, it did lamentably little.

Fortified by the knowledge of full support in Lima, and the near completion of both the Casa de Santa Cruz and the Colegio del Príncipe, a number of visita teams set out into the highlands of the archdiocese between 1617 and 1621. One in particular that concerns us here was that made by Hernando de Avendaño into the regions of Chancay and Cajatambo from February 1617 to July 1618. Among many other places visited in the regions, Avendaño conducted an investigation in San Pedro de Hacas.[58]

The Relación of Hernando de Avendaño dated 3 April 1617 [59] tells us a number of things about the idolatry in this area in the early part of the century. Perhaps even more fortuitously for posterity, Avendaño had among his entourage in Cajatambo and Chancay the Jesuit Arriaga. As has been noted, Arriaga proved a most perceptive collector of information and a diligent recorder of visita procedural difficulties. With specific regard to the one and a half years that he spent with Avendaño in the area, Arriaga wrote that in some 31 communities they had: heard 5,694 confessions, discovered and punished 669 ministers of idolatry and 63 witches, and removed 603 principal wak'as, 3,418 conopa idols, 181 huancas, 617 malquis, and a "thousand other things they are superstitious about", and finally, returned 477 bodies to a proper place of

burial in a church cemetery.[60] The tally proved this visita a most zealous expedition.[61]

Arriaga's Extirpacion became a guide - a veritable visitador's manual - for the extirpators of the seventeenth century to follow.[62] This makes it a valuable source in itself; however, the fact that the majority of his detailed observations were made in Cajatambo is even more significant for the purposes of this discussion. His references to local beliefs and traditions are often recognisable in the testimonies taken almost forty years later during Noboa's visita. Thus, in having Arriaga's source and Avendaño's Relación from before 1620, in addition to that of Noboa for 1657, we gain some perspective on the efficacy of the persecution in a local setting over a period of time.

The testimonies of the Indians of Hacas before Visitador Noboa 39 years later, as we have noted (see note 58 above), make reference to the actions of Hernando de Avendaño. The burning of ancestors' bodies and of idols would have been a traumatic interruption of the rhythm of existence in the village. In addition, what one learns of him suggests that he, himself, would have made the religious confrontation during his visita most dramatic. Thus, it is little wonder that his visita was stored in the community's

collective memory.

Avendaño had composed a number of widely distributed sermons in Quechua intended for use by parish priests and, particularly, by the visitadores of idolatry. His sermonising, even more so than Dr. Avila's, strove to impress upon the Indians - among other things - the eternal damnation that awaited them if they persisted in their ways. The portrayal of hell-fire was quite the norm for the sermonising of the Counter-Reformation age; yet, the depiction of the Indians' own ancestors in hell was sheerly a function of Avendaño's shrewdness and his great experience among the Indians.

> Tell me, then, where are the souls of your malquis? Tell me, where are they? If you do not want to say it, I will tell you clearly. Know, my sons, that they burn in Hell... . Tell me now, my sons, of all the people born on this earth before the Spaniards brought the Holy Word, how many were saved? How many? How many are in Heaven? None. How many of the Incas are in Hell? All. How many of the queens, the princesses? All.[63]

The committment of this long-lived man to the removal of the evils of idolatry from the Archdiocese of Lima made him a constant force on the Church's most vehement side for many years to come. In later years, Avendaño even advocated the involvement of the Inquisition in the assault on idolatry, because of,

among other reasons, the respect it commanded and its reputation for severity.[64] In the end , it is perhaps significant that it was Avendaño that visited San Pedro de Hacas in 1617-1618. The Indians living in the village at this time had experienced a brush with one of the early Extirpation's most ardent agents.

By 1621, as Pierre Duviols has stated, "the Extirpation had reached a mature age", the "apparatus of repression" would seem to have come to fruition.[65] A body of experienced and generously empowered visitadores were in place, centralised institutions of punishment and strategic Christian instruction existed in Lima, and there had been published that year, Arriaga's manual of operations. Most importantly, the officialdom in Lima was enthusiastically behind the every move of the campaign. In that year, however, the Extirpation was deprived of most of its powerful directorship, as the Jesuit Arriaga died and Viceroy Esquilache returned to Spain. The very next year marked the death of Archbishop Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero. Activities would wane until the 1640s but for a brief rejuvenation in 1626 during the short but enthusiastic term of office of the next Archbishop of Lima, Don Gonzalo de Campo (1625-1626).

Gonzalo de Campo has never received much consideration from the historians who discuss the

Extirpation's development, undoubtedly due to both the brevity of his term of office and the overshadowing that is bound to occur from the roles of his predecessors.[66] This should not mask the fact that in the extirpating operations directed by this archbishop, there was a marked return to a more personal and intimate - and some would say truly diligent - approach to examining the state of religiosity in the archdiocese. In addition to commissioning other visitadores[67], Gonzalo de Campo embarked on his own visita from Lima on 27 May 1626.[68] Because he had actually visited the villages himself, his reports were not only information that he had composed based on reports he had received from others. In his words there is a sense of immediacy and an "understanding" of the complexity of the problem of Indian idolatry which seemed to have been missing in other cases.[69] Though, to be sure, it was the custom of correspondence to one's sovereign to plead sincerity, it would seem that Archbishop Campo, more than most in his position, could truthfully write

> what is in this report that I have for Your Majesty is certain, true, seen by my eyes, touched by my hands, in which one can place no doubt.[70]

His perception of the problem and its comparison to the approach taken by his predecessor is a notable comment.

Esquilache and Lobo Guerrero, while they were aware of clerical abuse and favoured the distribution of Indian parishes to secular clergy, seem to have become consumed by the other aspect of the problem. They had concentrated on the eradication of the idolatry they saw as being rampant in the mountain communities. The contamination - in their minds - was the product of the influence of evil. Gonzalo de Campo also told of "idolatry and heresy of the worst kind", secret Indian mockery of the mysteries of the faith, and stated that the Indians, in his view, were "firm in their paganism and rituals."[71] And yet, the letters that tell of his movements suggest that he was as much concerned, if not more, with the corruption and deficiencies that he perceived among parish priests, as with Indian idolatry.[72]

His view of the reason for idolatry's existence in the seventeenth century in Peru seemed to shift the official focus away from a solely an Indian evil. Campo wrote to the king,

> it is certain...that these Indians have had much fault in their teaching and doctrine...it pains me much that having lived more than ninety years under the Crown of Your Majesty...today there still lives among them this plague.[73]

He implied that the ultimate solution would involve more than simply force and extirpation. He

demonstrated his committment to instituting better instruction by recommending that the main parish in each province be entrusted only to the care of the Jesuits. He reasoned that in these centres the instruction of the Indians in the tenets of Christianity would vastly improve and would provide proper examples and incentive to the other parishes.[74] Dying at work in the province of Huaylas on 19 December 1626, Gonzalo de Campo represents only a brief reprieve from the general tendencies of the era of the Extirpation's foundation.

Campo's successor was the first creole archbishop of Lima, Hernando Arias Ugarte (1630-1638). He did not interest himself in the persecution of idolatry and the Extirpation floundered during his reign, underlining the degree of its dependence on official patronage. The hiatus was a long one. When the next archbishop, Don Pedro de Villagómez (1641-1671), launched his first group of visitadores of idolatry from Lima, the last completed assault of the Extirpation had been no less than twenty-six years earlier, the final one sent by Lobo Guerrero. With Villagómez's arrival, however, the lapse was clearly over; he rekindled attention to the seriousness of the evil in the Indian parishes and once again raised the enterprise of extirpation in importance.

The Extirpation's cause was enhanced by the fact that the mid-seventeenth century was dominated by this archbishop. His past services in addition to his position in Lima made him the experienced constant around which the other changing powers in the viceroyalty seemed forced to revolve.[75] In the course of his reign five viceroys succeeded: the Marquis of Mancera (1639-1648); and the Counts of Salvatierra (1648-1655), Alba de Liste (1655-1661), Santisteban (1661-1666), and Lemos (1667-1672). In addition to the succession of vice-sovereigns, the prevalent throng of other secular and religious officials also fluctuated, and opinions and priorities ranged widely in the capital at any given time. What is certain is that regarding the issue of the Church's struggle against Indian idolatry, the advocates of force had found in the archbishop a patron and an able and zealous hand to guide the Extirpation's revitalisation.

His preparations began at once. In November of 1647, after he had only a few months of first-hand experience, Villagómez wrote his Carta pastoral de instrucción y exhortación contra las idolatrías.[76] His position was set: he resolved to begin again what had been started earlier in the century. Attention to the extraction of riches and maintaining control of an

Indian labour force in Peru was a priority of the Crown in the colony. However, in departure from the policies of his predecessor, he called also for a return of emphasis to the spiritual realm, and thus, to the mountain parishes and "the danger that had been lost to view", Indian idolatry.[77] The archbishop was in his element as a learned man, and the Pastoral Letter exhibited his scholarly power of persuasion. It cited biblical text at random and, in its presentation of the evil Indian religion, he dutifully collected together much of the information from Arriaga's earlier treatise and from the experience of the aged Don Hernando de Avendaño. The latter was entrusted with the task of collecting a group of his best sermons in Spanish and Quechua in order that they be appended to the Pastoral Letter before it was distributed to the priests and visitadores.

The theoretical part of his preparations complete, it only remained for Don Pedro to ensure that the seven visitadores that he had empowered as his first great force be given a pious and proper send-off. First, to set the mood, a holy relic that had been given to him as a present by Pope Urban VIII was solemnly placed in the Cathedral in Lima and a great festival was held just prior to the visitadores' departure. Then, to follow the account of Rubén Vargas Ugarte, the

archbishop blessed the special banners carried by the visitadores,

> all of them of white silk with a green cross in the centre,...and on the border was lettered in red characters: "Ecce crucem Domini jugite partes adversae."[78]

However, his "crusade" had hardly begun when a number of problems surfaced, foreshadowing the very struggles he would contend with throughout his reign. At the last minute, it appeared that funds for the allowances of the visitadores were seriously wanting, there were murmurings of severe opposition to the archbishop and his endeavour, and, perhaps most damaging of all, the Jesuit fathers had withdrew their participation from the visitas. The send-off had turned into a serious blunder, and only one of seven visitadores was able to proceed.

In some important circles in the land, the climate of opinion concerning the efficacy of the enterprise was changing. The days of the unguarded enthusiasm for action of men like Avila and Arriaga had passed, and many Spaniards seemed less disposed to accept the Extirpation as the best solution to the "Indian problem". The Extirpation was forced to operate in some different ways and in an atmosphere fraught with challenges that required of Archbishop Villagómez, more the shrewd skills of a diplomat or politician than the

extirpator of idolatry. Villagómez was a hard worker, and we gain much of our insight into the problems of his reign from the many diligent reports that he sent to His Holiness the Pope concerning the "state of the archdiocese".[79]

The first pressure was caused by lack of money. A primary complaint heard from the spiritual magistrate in Peru concerned the lack of financial assistance from the Royal Government and other concerned parties in the viceroyalty. Specifically, it affected the Extirpation, and the archbishop claimed that it was not possible to maintain his visitadores' operations because of lack of funds. Without government assistance to allay expenses, he claimed, because of the monumentality of the task and the physical hardship caused by the roughness of the terrain, the visitas would be doomed.[80] In retrospect, and in full knowledge that a series of visitas did eventually embark, we may see his appeal as exaggerated and dramatic, and the financial woes as surmountable by the archbishop and the Extirpation's zealous backers.

A second challenge was posed by one particular opponent of Villagómez, the alcalde del crimen (chief criminal attorney), Don Juan de Padilla. His criticisms concerning religious matters in the Indian parishes are of particular interest to this discussion.

Both a letter to the king dated 15 October 1654, and a work sent on 20 July 1657 entitled the Memorial or Works, grievances and injustices suffered by the Indians of Peru in the spiritual and temporal sphere, were direct condemnations of the then current lack of pastoral achievement among the Indians.[81] Many of the people native to the Andes, he pointed out, remained ignorant of ther faith through much of their lives and might even die without having received the Sacrament.[82] Padilla's offering of remedies included a re-echoing of the suggestion made years earlier by the former archbishop, Gonzalo de Campo, that the Jesuits be encouraged to take over the spiritual management of a key parish in each province as an example to the rest. However, what was particularly damaging to Villagómez and his efforts to once again implant the Extirpation in Peru, was Juan de Padilla's actual depiction of the visita of idolatry as an "evil" adversely affecting the struggle being waged by Catholicism in the Andes, and potentially in much of Spanish South America.[83]

The impact of Padilla's Memorial was, admittedly, mixed. The king and his councillors acknowledged his words enough to order that his criticisms be considered in detail in a junta in Lima. Eventually, however, the viceroy, the Count of Alba de Liste, knowing full well

the power and influence of Pedro de Villagómez in Peru, decided on a compromise. He accepted and published the detailed observations of Padilla's Memorial by a man named Don Nicolás Polanco de Santillana. This consensus basically ruled that, while the process of evangelisation had exhibited its drawbacks, the Indians themselves were still to be considered, in Polanco de Santillana's words, "in good part the cause of the ills they endured, by their lack of sincerity amd their aloofness [or withdrawing nature]."[84] Thus, in the end, even the force of Padilla's challenge was something Villagómez could overcome.

A third challenge involved the growing animosity and lack of assistance that the archbishop was receiving from the Jesuit order. Visitas of idolatry without the participation of missionaries - in the Extirpation's history, primarily the Jesuits - became little more than punitive expeditions. This the Jesuits knew, but, guided by their Provincial in Peru, they made the conscious decision to not accompany the exercises of Villagómez's visitadores, preferring, instead, to employ their own missionary methods in the parishes where they held influence. Their decision seems to have been a complex one, due, in part, to an actual conviction that the Extirpation had proved ineffective, and also, to embitterment caused by some

ongoing disputes between the Society and Archbishop Villagómez.

One of the major causes of this friction involved the mission in the remote parish of Chavín de Pariarca, portrayed at the time as the last Christian stronghold before one reached the savage tribes of the jungle to the east. As their reputation throughout the continent would soon attest, the Jesuit missionaries were particularly bold in remote regions, and in the case of Chavín de Pariarca, they seemed to have won some trust among the people. However, in 1650, the secularising tendencies building in the colonial Church combined with an anti-Jesuit leaning discernible in the archbishop, resulted in Villagómez's order that the Jesuits abandon the parish in favour of a secular clergyman. According to the report on the matter sent to the king in 1654 by the Protector of the Indians, Don Francisco Valenzuela, the Indians had soon resorted to "drunkenness and idolatry" as a means of "complaining" about the departure of the Jesuit fathers.[85] In what must have been to the horror of Villagómez, in 1656, the king criticised his policy against the Jesuits in this instance, asking him to see the reality of what had happened in the parish.[86]

A second source of tension was more closely related to the Extirpation itself, and involved primarily Villagómez's desire for money and Jesuit participation in the assault against idolatry. A benefactor of the Jesuits in Peru, Clement de Fuentes, had died and left almost 50,000 pesos to the order that they would use it to set up missions in the archdiocese.[87] Villagómez complained to the king and the general of the Society of Jesus, alleging that, not only were the Jesuits not giving missions in compliance with the will, but they were also refusing support of his visitadores of idolatry in their tasks among the Indians. In 1658, the Jesuit reply came, listing the Society's missions and accomplishments in Peru. In formidable Jesuitical fashion, there was included a quiet refusal of the archbishop's Extirpation. Their very failure to comply with the visitas of idolatry at present, it was argued, was in keeping with the Jesuits' obligation to the legacy of their benefactor Fuentes.

> if they refrained somewhat from accompanying the visitadores of idolatry, they did so for reasons of some weight, however, for which, they had not completely refused their collaboration.[88]

The reply is revealing in a number of respects. The Jesuits were not denying their committment to the struggle against the persistence of Indian religion. After all, they were by the seventeenth century -

symbolically if not numerically - a large part of the Christian presence in Peru, and Villagómez would have known this. Their problem, instead, seems to have been in their perception of what was to be accomplished by the efforts of Villagómez's Extirpation. The "razones de algun peso" (reasons of some weight) that are referred to in the letter, imply that the Jesuits had identified some "higher" motivations for withholding their support. Perhaps after nearly a half-century of intermittent operation, a sufficient time to show some results from the effort, the Extirpation had failed to impress. Perhaps, the Jesuits had reflected deeply on the effect of the campaigns of persecution on the Indians' acceptance of the faith and had made their decision accordingly.

Villagómez's tenure marked a powerful return to the approach of the "witch-hunt" in the Indian parishes. It reinaugurated a system that would once again cast down idols, desecrate the Indians' sacred grounds, burn bodies of ancestors, and attempt to humiliate and banish the most holy of local Indian society. The task went on without the Jesuits' help. The fact that - in spite of his financial difficulties - Villagómez would continue commissioning visitadores and sending them out to the parishes without missionaries is notable.[89] The absence of missionaries eliminated the emphasis

that had been put on instruction as an integral part of the visita of idolatry. Gone also, was a major means of justification. Instruction had been the Jesuit's place in the enterprise from its inception, and it was an underlying tenet of their support. The Jesuits returned to their missionary work and Las Casian methods to win support for the faith among the Indians, preferring not to be a part of the purely punitive exercises represented by Archbishop Villagómez's Extirpation.

In the midst of the turmoil, opposition and challenges to his actions the archbishop stoutly defended the aims of his Extirpation and answered his detractors and critics by sending more visita teams into the mountain parishes. One of these was led by the former priest of the highland parish of Ticllos, the Licentiate Bernardo de Noboa, his visita being part of a larger campaign that left Lima in 1656.[90] Like all visitadores, Noboa had designated in his visita region of Cajatambo a number of parishes and individual villages where investigations would be held. Thus through Cajamarquilla, San Francisco de Otuco, Santo Domingo de Pariac, Santa Catalina de Pimachi, San Pedro de Hacas and a number of other communities, the visita moved, collecting testimonies from Indians on the survival of their religious beliefs and meting out

punishments and sentences as was seen fit. Slightly less than forty years earlier, as has been noted above, Hernando de Avendaño and the Jesuit Pablo José de Arriaga had conducted the early century's version of a visita of idolatry through the same region. After this, Arriaga had written:

> We tried by continual sermons and catechisms to remove them [the idols and wak'as] from their hearts, but it is greatly to be feared that roots so ancient and so deep will not yield entirely to the first plowing. To make sure they are really uprooted and will not flourish again, a second and third plowing will be required. One thing is certain, that all the Indians visited have been taught and shown the error of their superstitions. And they have been warned by punishment. Therefore, their children will be better than the parents and their grandchildren better than the fathers and grandfathers.[91]

The prediction is most interesting. In San Pedro de Hacas, it would be a number of the very "children" and "grandchildren" to whom Father Arriaga refers that would appear before another "plowing" by Bernardo de Noboa in 1657 to confess to the rumours of the stubborn persistence of their traditional beliefs and system of worship. The evidence from his visita presents the villagers' religious universe, what Arriaga had called the "roots so ancient and so deep". What had persisted, perhaps somewhat torn and frayed by the

necessities of adaptation and survival, was still essentially intact.

CHAPTER II NOTES:

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4 B. de Sahagún, General History of the Things of New Spain, The Florentine Codex, 13 part compilation, A.J.O. Anderson and G.E. Dibble (eds.), (Santa Fe, 1982), see introductory volume.

5 B. de Sahagún as in J. Lafaye, Quetzalcóatl and Guadalupe: The Formation of Mexican National Consciousness, 1531-1813, Benjamin Keen (tr.), (Chicago, 1976), 33-34.

6 See the full account of the Alexandrine bulls and further grants to the Spanish Crown in J.H. Elliott, Imperial Spain, 1469-1716, (Harmondsworth, 1963), 99-110; and by the same author, "Spain and America in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", in L. Bethell (ed.), The Cambridge History of Latin America, volume I, (Cambridge, 1984), 300-303.

7 See Charles Gibson, The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810, (Stanford, 1964), Chapter V, 98-136.

8 For an interesting direct comparison see A. Garrido Aranda, Moriscos e Indios : Precedentes Hispánicos de la Evangelización de México, (México, 1980).

9 For excellent summaries of the stages of these official decisions, see the prime sources on the colonial councils in New Spain and Peru: respectively, J. A. Llaguno S.J., La Personalidad Jurídica del Indio y el III Concilio Provincial

Mexicano (1585), (México, 1983). This work summarises the two previous councils of 1555 and 1565 as well. Thanks to Stafford Poole CM. for recommending this source.; and R. Vargas Ugarte SJ, Concilios Limenses (1551-1772),tomo I, (Lima, 1951).

10 R. Ricard ; N. Wachtel, The Vision of the Vanquished: The Spanish Conquest of Peru through Indian Eyes, 1530-1570, Ben and Sian Reynolds (trs.), (Hassocks, 1977), 160, 175.

11 See the presentation of the persecution of the Indian sorcerors, Martín and Andrés Ocelotl in J. Lafaye, 21-22. Also, the description of the zeal of Bishop Zumárraga, inquisitor in early colonial New Spain, who burnt two Indian caciques for their religious "crimes" before his tribunal was dissolved in 1570. See the work of R.E. Greenleaf, particularly, Zumárraga and the Mexican Inquisition, 1536-1543, (Washington, 1961); "The Inquisition and the Indians of New Spain: A Study of Jurisdictional Confusion", The Americas, 22, (1965), 138-166; and "The Mexican Inquisition and the Indians: Sources for the Ethnohistorian", The Americas, 34, (1978), 315-344. For Peru, direct relevance to Europe at the time of the "witch craze" is explored in L. Millones, Los hechizos del Perú, and I. Silverblatt, "Dioses y diablos".

12 K. Spalding, Huarochirí, 244.

13 See especially L. Millones, " Un movimiento nativista del siglo XVI: el Taki Onqoy", Revista peruana de Cultura, 3, (1964), 134-140; L. Millones (ed.), Las informaciones de Cristóbal de Albornoz: documentos para el estudio del Taki Onqoy, (Cuernavaca, 1971); C. de Molina, " An Account of the Fables and Rites of the Yncas",(1574), in C.R. Markham, (ed.), Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas, (New York, 1878), 3-67; S. Stern, Peru's Indian Peoples, see chapter entitled "Crisis in Indian Society, Radical Dreams", 51-70.

14 Nathan Wachtel does not agree. In an intriguing section in The Vision of the Vanquished, 181, he links the Andean conception of cycles with the occurrence of Taki Onqoy, and claims that the rebel Inka Titu Cusi was likely more ready for a violent uprising than others have supposed. He writes:

It was 1565, a thousand years after the founding of the Empire that the Taqui Ongo (Taki Onqoy) movement reached its peak: did not the catastrophe brought about by the Spanish conquest herald the reign of a new Sun and the birth of a new race of mankind? It was no accident that Titu Cusi was preparing for a general uprising in the year 1565.

15 P. Duviols, "Francisco de Avila, Extirpador de la idolatría", in F. de Avila, Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí, edición bilingüe, José María Arguedas (tr.), (Lima, 1966), 218.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid., and see also K. Spalding, Huarochirí, 254.

18 K. Spalding, Ibid.

19 P. Duviols, "Francisco de Avila", 219.

20 Ibid., 220-221.

21 Ibid.

22 R. Vargas Ugarte S.J., Historia de la Iglesia en el Perú, tomo II, 1570-1640, (Burgos, 1959), 306.

23 Francisco de Avila as in R. Vargas Ugarte, Ibid.

24 R. Vargas Ugarte, Historia de la Iglesia, 307.

25 Ibid., and P. Duviols, "Francisco de Avila", 223.

26 P. Duviols, Ibid., 222; and P. J. de Arriaga, 11-12. The new archbishop, Lobo Guerrero, came from his previous archdiocese of New Granada at Santa Fé de Bogotá. He was experienced and had taken steps against idolatry in New Granada.

27 P. Duviols, Cultura andina, LXXIII.

28 R. Vargas Ugarte, Historia de la Iglesia, tomo II, 307.

29 R. Vargas Ugarte, Historia del Perú Virreinato: Siglo XVII, (Buenos Aires, 1954), 137-138.

30 This was recommended particularly by Don Hernando de Avendaño. See further discussion below.

31 P.J. de Arriaga, 90.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid., 164.

34 R. Vargas Ugarte, Historia del Perú Virreinato, 137-138.

35 Ibid., 137-139.

36 P. J. Arriaga, 16.

37 See R. Vargas Ugarte, Historia del Perú Virreinato, 154 and Historia de la Iglesia, 317; P. Duviols, Cultura andina, XXXII; and "Francisco de Avila", 223; L. Millones, Introducción al estudio de las idolatrías, 13.
Official positions often seemed to reflect wider emphases. It should be noted that - especially in the early years of their tenures - Lobo Guerrero and Esquilache directed their attention to other problems in the Indian parish. The visita process could also act as a "check" on the behaviour of Spaniards in religious office. The archbishop, for his part, was particularly concerned with the weaknesses of religious clergy - friars of the orders - in the curates. On 20 April 1611 he wrote the king telling of the "humiliated condition" of the Indians forced to work as virtual slaves in textile mills for religious, who demanded both personal service and tribute. Lobo Guerrero, the chief representative of the secular clergy in Peru took what was very much the "party line". It must be noted that Lobo Guerrero's concerns were in keeping with the times. They may have stemmed as much from a general aversion to the religious orders in parishes (doctrinas), as from concern with the damage their presence may or may not have had on true Indian conversion and welfare. For further information on these interesting themes, see XLI and XLIV in the Prefacio of P. Duviols, Cultura andina. Viceroy Esquilache, himself, always working closely with the archbishop, did attempt a provision on 8 May 1617 that intended to prohibit the sale of maize chicha (the Indians' corn beer), wine and other alcoholic drinks in the Indian parishes. In addition, both men did identify a major problem in the parishes as being the widespread incompetence of many priests in the Indian language. The viceroy commanded, in the aforementioned provision in 1617,

that the Indians be preached to every Sunday in their own language, and that if this seemed impossible for the priest concerned, that published sermons be read to the best of his ability. See discussion in R. Vargas Ugarte, Historia de la Iglesia.
As was so often the case in matters of colonial administration in the Indian areas, the gulf between what was decreed in Lima and what happened, or could actually be done, in the mountain parishes was a substantial one.

38 P. J. Arriaga, 12. Another of the most notable Jesuit supporters at this early point was Father Gaspar de Montalvo who, Arriaga tells us, died while on visita with Dr. Avila.

39 Arriaga even refers to "the Roman manual" and the "Directorio inquisitorium": P.J. Arriaga, 128; we know that the manual of inquisitorial method of Bernard Gui was an important guide to procedure in Europe and may, in fact, be the "Roman manual" referred to by Father Arriaga. For more information on the origins and guides of procedure, see among many others:
E. Burman, The Inquisition: The Hammer of Heresy, (Wellingborough, 1984); B. Hamilton, The Medieval Inquisition, (London, 1981); and H.C. Lea, A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages,Volumes I-III, (New York, 1922).

40 H.C. Lea, volume I, 313.

41 Ibid., and "Lucius III: Ad abolendam", translated by C.G. Coulton as in J.B. Russell, Religious Dissent in the Middle Ages, (New York, 1971), 127-128.

42 H.C. Lea.

43 P. J. Arriaga, 123.

44 Ibid., 124-125.

45 For more detailed descriptions of these early movements see
P. Duviols, La Lutte, 147-160; P.J. Arriaga, 13-22; and R. Vargas Ugarte, Historia de la Iglesia, 311-313.

46 This phrase belongs to [illegible] Wallaias, 21

47 Prince of Esquilache, Letter to king, 15 April 1617, as in R. Vargas Ugarte, Historia de la Iglesia, 312.

48 R. Vargas Ugarte, 312 note.

49 P. J. Arriaga, 98.

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.

52 On the gradations of kuraka integration see especially the interesting ideas in K. Spalding "Kurakas and Commerce: A Chapter in the Evolution of Andean Society", Hispanic American Historical Review, 54, 4, (Nov. 1973), 581-599; and "Social Climbers: Changing Patterns of Mobility Among the Indians of Colonial Peru", Hispanic American Historical Review, 50, 4, (Nov. 1970), 645-664; and S.J. Stern, Peru's Indian Peoples, see chapter 2, "Rise and Demise of the Post-Incaic Alliances", 27-50.

53 F.A. Ridley, The Jesuits: A Study in Counter-Revolution, (London, 1938), 223.

54 Ibid.

55 P. J. Arriaga, 99.

56 Ibid., 99-100.

57 Ibid., 100. Wak'as are sacred objects that can be stones, idols, outcroppings of rock or even certain sites.

58 In the trials, reference to the Visitador Avendaño is less often by name than by "El Senor Obispo", the notary's acknowledgement of the bishopric granted him in Chile just before his death. See further discussion of the indigenous response to the removal and burning of malquis and idols below.

59 "Relación de las idolatrías de los indios" de Hernando de Avendaño, (Medina, J.T., "La Imprenta de Lima" 1904-1907) in P. Duviols, Cultura andina, 441-449.

60 P. J. Arriaga, 20-21.

61 The Prince of Esquilache, the one, was impressed by

such numbers; it showed that, materially anyway, something was being accomplished. He kept a tally of his own, documenting the accomplishments of all the visitadores sent out to the Indian parishes after 1617 by his command. His numbers allow us to see Avendaño's results in comparison to the rest. On 27 March 1619, Esquilache wrote the king, informing him that to this date in the Archdiocese of Lima, they had: absolved 20,893 persons of idolatry, arrested and punished 1,618 hechicero-dogmatisers (sorcerors and instructors), destroyed 1,769 principal wak'as and idols, burnt the bodies of 1,365 venerated malquis (ancestors) and removed some 7,288 lesser idols. (R. Vargas Ugarte, Historia de la Iglesia, 315) Considering that at least five other visitadores were in operation (Ramírez, Delgado, Aguilar, Osorio and Avila), Avendaño's "contribution" to the numbers was substantial. This reveals, not only of this visitador's zeal, but probably also that in this region there persisted a flourishing Indian resistance to the prospect of proceeding uniformly into the fold of the Church.

62 Regarding the publication of his treatise, Arriaga had written:

> The Lord Prince of Esquilache, viceroy of this kingdom, heard about my account and read it in draft form, and His Excellence thought it should be printed, though I had not written it with that intention.

P. J. Arriaga, 5.

63 Hernando de Avendaño, printed sermon in P. Duviols, La Lutte, 40-41, and this excerpt in translation in K. Spalding, Huarochirí, 246.

See discussion of the sermons appended to Archbishop Villagómez's Carta Pastoral below.

64 The debates over jurisdiction are best summarised in R. Vargas Ugarte, Historia de la Iglesia, tomo III, 295-[illegible] and P. Duviols, Cultura andina, LXIII-LXXIV.

65 P. Duviols, Ibid., XXXII-XXXIII.

66 He does receive attention in R. Vargas Ugarte, [illegible]

XXXIII.

67 P. Duviols, Cultura andina, XXXIII.

68 R. Vargas Ugarte, Historia de la Iglesia, II, 330.

69 This assertion is found in Esquilache's letter mentioned above (see note 61), and on one such as Dr. Avila's of 30 April 1610, an excerpt of which exhibits that emphasis was more on extolling personal virtue and telling of hardships than anything else:

> [I have been] walking many leagues over bleak plateaus and rough roads with great risk to my life, at my cost, without any help from the Royal House of Your Majesty, nor from the Ecclesiastical Ordinary, spending in it [this endeavour] all that is mine, it being worthwhile to me to engage in the conversion of these souls.

in R. Vargas Ugarte, Historia de la Iglesia, II, 308-309.

70 R. Vargas Ugarte, Ibid., 334.

71 Ibid.

72 His letter of 8 October 1626, Ibid., 331, told particularly of the "miserable" situation he perceived. He continued the vehement attack on friars as parish priests. In one parish, Bombon, he blamed the extent of the idolatry on the inabilities of a Mercedarian father named Francisco de Ribera.

73 as in R. Vargas Ugarte, Historia de la Iglesia, II, 334.

74 Ibid., 335.

75 Due to his longevity, his experience as Archbishop of Lima became the largest part of his reputation. However, he was experienced even before his appointment in 1641. Completing his studies to the completion of a doctorate at the university of Sevilla and Salamanca in Spain, Villagómez had served as a canon in the Cathedral of Sevilla, and later both a Judge in the Holy Office of the

Audiencia of Lima in Peru, and even before he had completed this appointment, the honour of the Bishopric of Arequipa (southern Peru) was bestowed upon him. His capacity for action, reform and enforcing strict discipline was well-established, and on 15 July 1640, Pope Urban VIII transferred Don Pedro de Villagómez to the Metropolitan See. He arrived in Lima on 22 May 1641 as the successor to Hernando Arias de Ugarte.

see R. Vargas Ugarte, Historia de la Iglesia, III, 1-3, and Manuel de Mendiburu, Diccionario Histórico Biográfico del Perú, tomo XI, (Lima, 1934), "Villagómez, Don Pedro de", 315-322.

76 R. Vargas Ugarte, Historia de la Iglesia, III, 4.

His "few months" would prove Archbishop Villagómez's last attempt at a visita by himself. He seems to have been impeded, by his own admission anyhow, by a hernia that did not allow him to mount a horse, "nor even sit side-saddle (as a woman)." He travelled along the coastal region in a litter, but for the rest of the country, his pastoral duties rested solely in the hands of his visitadores.This gives some perspective, as Vargas Ugarte asserts, on the value Villagómez put on these officials see R. Vargas Ugarte, III, 15.

77 Ibid., 5.

78 Ibid., 7., " Behold the Cross of the Lord Joining Adverse Parts". Thanks to Professors J.L. Langdon and C. Small for help with the Latin "jugite".

79 These are now in the Vatican Archive in Rome, and for their contents this discussion is wholly dependent on the work done there in the 1950s by the aforementioned Ruben Vargas Ugarte S.J, as it appears in tomo III of his Historia de la Iglesia.

80 Ibid., 9.

81 Ibid., 15-16.

82 Ibid., 16.

83 Ibid.,
The exact wording put it: "...the deficiencies of the visita [is] not a private evil of the Archdiocese of Lima but a general and [illegible] evil of the district of the Audienci

of this city."

84 Ibid., 16-17. My "aloofness (or withdrawing nature)" for "retraimiento".

85 Ibid., 10-11.

86 Ibid., 11.

87 Ibid.

88 Ibid., 12.

89 We know that visitas proceeded without missionaries and that instruction was left up to the visitador, who would be expected to add this to his other central functions; it is noted in the specific cases of the visita of Lic. Felipe de Medina and the last one led by Hernando de Avendaño.

90 R. Vargas Ugarte, Historia de la Iglesia, III, 9.

91 P. J. Arriaga, 21.

III COLONIAL SAN PEDRO DE HACAS : COMMUNITY AND AUTHORITY

The village of San Pedro de Hacas - as it existed in the mid-seventeenth century - was a colonial creation. It was a *reducción de indígenas*, a *pueblo* that represented a Spanish restructuring of the traditional Indian communities in the vicinity. The benefits of the Indian reducciones to the Spanish were clear: the previously scattered Indian peoples were concentrated into a number of nucleated villages, and thus could be kept under closer scrutiny by Spanish civil and religious officials. It was hoped that in these communities the Indians' Hispanisation and instruction in Catholicism would proceed more rapidly, while the threat of any solid Indian resistance or religious messianism would diminish. The construction of streets in the grid-pattern, the institution of the central *plaza mayor* and the church imparted a certain Spanish flavour to the restructured Indian communities. Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, who in the early 1570s is reported to have founded no less than 614 reducciones throughout Andean Peru, may have introduced many Indian communities to the reality of Hispanic domination for the first time.[1]

The concentration of Indians in these restructured communities favoured the Spaniards' assignment of them

to different forms of work called the mita, so-named after the Inka form of labour exaction. While the visita records make no specific mention of people from Hacas being taken to work in the mines, or being sent on a mita de minas as far away as Potosi, this serves as no indication that these things did not happen. The silver mine at Potosi, the extraction of mercury from Huancavelica, and numerous other smaller mining efforts were forced by a labour shortage to reach further and further from their bases of operations in search of workers. If neighbouring Chancay was affected by the mine mita, as indeed it appears to have been, there is little reason to believe that Cajatambo, and thus perhaps Hacas, was not also penetrated in this way.[2]

However, allusions to other sorts of demands on a few occasions confirm the mita's existence and its influence on the people of Hacas. For example, the people appear to have struggled against a provision that would require a large labour force from their village to construct the "Cussi bridge."[3] In a passing mention, Christóbal Hacas Malqui related that a time when the Indians tended to be negligent of their traditional worship practices was when "they were absent on their mitas of Chancay."[4] Similarly, Domingo Ribera recalled to the visitador in 1657 that three or four years previous, his brother, Pedro Pablo,

had taken sick and died while working a mita.[5] The exact character of these mita obligations remains obscure, but their effect on the ordinary - and primarily agricultural - structure of the local society's economy is apparent.

In the realm of the community itself, the village's concentration of people made it easier for the Spanish and their local Indian agents to engage in the collection of agricultural tribute in kind (the caja de comunidad) from fields set aside for this purpose (the chacra de comunidad). Andrés Guaman Pilpi of Hacas, for example, noted to Noboa's examination that his kin-group (an ayllu, to be discussed below) had a granary (colca) close to the village where maize was to be kept, held in common to satisfy their mitas.[6] In theory, the land and tribute to be set aside for the Spaniards' exaction was not to enfringe on the communal and individual plots of the Indian communities, but Indian depopulation and the underclass's predictable failure to exhaust all legal means in protecting their own royally sanctioned rights from Spanish advantage meant that any vacant land could very easily be lost to the communities.

In the face of the impact of the colonial regime and its demands, communal landholding villages in Peru fared differently depending on their location and

fortunes. The total acculturation of the Indians was the Spanish desire, and represented the objective of the reducciones; yet the reality in the post-conquest indigenous societies was that this acculturation had met with uneven success. Professor Eric Van Young, in his study of the response of Indian villages to changes in the economy and society in the Guadalajara region of west-central Mexico in the eighteenth century, hypothesises two contradictory tendencies within colonial Indian society. [7] The first was a response of change, a willingness spurred by varying degrees of Indian integration into the "Spanish world", with the result being an encouragement for what Van Young calls "internal social differentiation." Yet, on the other hand, in spite of some undeniable Spanish influence, a community might continue to survive as a traditional landholding group, solidified by its closed corporate nature, and deflecting most of the group hostility to the outside.[8] Hacas inclined towards this latter general tendency. Though the majority of the information gained from the proceedings of Noboa's visita pertains to religion, the evidence on the clandestine spiritual existence of the village is indicative of a larger social and economic tendency that, at all opportunities, reaffirmed old ways as much as was possible.

In San Pedro de Hacas traditional affiliations and connections had prevailed largely due to its remoteness from intense Spanish influence and pressure. People defined themselves, not only by their connection with the community of Hacas, but by their membership in one of about eight kin-groups, or socio-economic units called ayllus. The term ayllu is a rather general one in Quechua, meaning relative, family or lineage.[9] In attitude, the group's traditional solidarity stems from what is essentially the Andean version of the common Manichean concept of "us" and "them".[10] While in theory the ayllu was made up of the descendants of a common ancestor, in reality "kin" relationships permitted other ties than simply the consanguineal. Membership in an ayllu might also have been gained through marriage or a more ambivalent spiritual means in which a person could gain group status because of a special role that he or she played in the group's existence.

In the case of Hacas, belonging to an ayllu depended on these wider varieties of acceptance in the seventeenth century. Out of necessity, marriage often occurred outside the bounds of the ayllu and even the village, and because of the depletion of religious officials and general numbers in some of the traditional ayllus, indigenous ministers were

frequently shared between ayllus or even installed in positions in ayllus where they were needed.[11]

In addition to its role as the primary social and devotional base in society, the ayllu was also traditionally the fundamental unit driving an interdependent economy. If the visita records are any indication, with only a few exceptions, the Indians of Hacas were only as involved in the Spaniards' economy as was dictated by necessity. The people were, for the most part, farmers and shepherds. Their goal was similar to the traditional one in most of the Andean world, self-sufficiency through the cooperation of different "micro-regions".

A change that had been prompted by the developments in the colonial period, like marriage and labour obligations, was that exchange relations had also become phrased in terms of the needs of the village rather than simply the ayllu. Yet, while the economic unit had been altered, the concept had remained the same. In Quechua the expression ayni reflects the reciprocal spirit, and aynillmanta llamkakuni means further, "to work the same for another as him for me."[12] A web of cooperation and mutual obligation between ayllus and communities had for centuries been a most sensible adaptation to a plural mountainous environment.

Colonial Hacas was in much the same location as the modern town (see Map II), at an altitude of 3,700 metres above sea level.[13] Thus, the village was higher than an average core settlement or agricultural "heart" in the Andes which was usually between 2,800 and 3,400 metres.[14] The Indians' chacras were small parcels of land cultivated in the general vicinity of Hacas. These were sown primarily to the staple, maize, with some varieties of potatoes and high altitude grains. The community's chacras were divided into holdings at a number of levels for the ayllus according to need. Each ayllu had colcas (granaries) nearby where maize and other goods could be stored. The fields of the people of Hacas were named according to location, with the most sacred of all being the chacras dedicated to the malquis (ancestors) and idols. From this agricultural base, the community would reach out to gain access to other resources suited to other micro-regions, or what John V. Murra has called "islands" or "archipelagoes".[15] It would be along the lines of the traditional ayllu relationships alluded to above that the community was itself established at a number of these ecological levels up and down the mountainsides.

Above the community of Hacas, between the altitudes of 4,000 and 4,600 metres, was the zone dominated by

Page 93 has been removed due to poor print quality. It contains a "Descripcion Geografica de la Prov.a de Caxatambo (1791)" from Pierre Duviols, "Huari y Llacuaz." Revista del Museo Nacional, XXXIX, (Lima, 1973), 176.

the high Andean plateaus, the puna. Agriculturally, beyond a few hardy types of tubers that might grow in its lower reaches, the puna was important primarily for its ichu grass. This cold bleak pastureland was the domain of the shepherds who tended the herds of llamas and alpacas for their ayllus. The puna was not completely wanting of other resources, as there salt might be extracted from the earth [16], and in the case of the plateaus above Hacas, game such as guanacos, tarucas and deer were hunted.[17] The most essential resource of all, water, had its sources in springs (puquios) and pools (cochas) on the puna, and these permitted the irrigation of the lower chacras cultivated by the people of Hacas. Hernando Hacas Poma told of two great pools named Condorcocha and Yanacocha that the villagers revered and to which they offered live cuyes (guinea pigs) in hopes that the pools would not dry up.[18] Another witness, Juan Raura, explained that Mancococha and Cochapuquio were two other sources of water on the puna for the village and its chacras.[19]

Below Hacas were the warmer climes of lower valleys where more maize could be grown and there would be access to other products such as the Peruvian pepper, aji, fruits, squashes, other tubers, and woods from stands of forest. For example, from a number of the

testimonies taken in Hacas in 1657 it is clear that a special relationship was nurtured between the highland village of Hacas and the lowland community of Cochillos, the inhabitants of which the Indians of Hacas called Yungas, or peoples of the warm valleys and the coast.[20] Christóbal Hacas Malqui revealed that the highland people of Hacas had kin-relations with Cochillos in at least two instances. He reported that Ynes Upiai and Francisco Hasto Paucar, both chief ministers of idols in Cochillos, were native to the Yanaqui ayllu of Hacas and had moved to the lowland village. Another, Domingo Guaras, was said to be a native of neighbouring Cajamarquilla.[21] However, Hacas's relations with Cochillos were grounded in cooperation and interdependence, even more than by kinship ties.

This was illustrated at the time of the visita of Bernardo de Noboa. There was some distress in Hacas over the sorry condition of their lowland cousins. Their population, devastated by the effect of disease, appears to have failed to recover. While the two villages' religious and economic association would have been considerable in ordinary times, it had intensified out of necessity by the mid-seventeenth century. By most all accounts in Hacas, the Yunga Indians of Cochillos were wasting away.[22] Near the village

itself, chacras were said to lay uncultivated and the irrigation canals had become obstructed by debris. Hernando Chaupis Condor and Alonso Chaupis the blind, of the Yanaqui and Quirca ayllus of Hacas, led what amounted to an agricultural and religious relief effort from the highlands. Chaupis Condor related that every year "for a few years" the Indians of Hacas had descended to Cochillos with a llama and many cuyes. There, he and Alonso Chaupis had assisted the depleted priesthood of the village in making sacrifices to the malquis and idols.[23] Their offerings complete, the people would then work together to open the canals to provide water for the chacras that they would then sow.[24] From the testimonies taken by the visitador in January, there appears to have been no opposition to these "routine" practices of community relief.

The few witnesses to appear before Noboa in Hacas in April of 1657, however, expressed a resentment over some direct exactions that had been made by officials in Hacas in the aid of the Cochillos situation. Pedro Poma Guras told that three of the principales (esteemed elders) of Hacas had gone from home to home in the village gathering offerings and demanding a real of each person, the proceeds of which was said to be needed to buy the llama that had to be sacrificed in Cochillos before the canals could be opened and the

valley's chacras sown.[25] Pedro Poma Guras was the alcalde (mayor) at the time and claimed that he had expressed his disapproval of their practice and had asked "how could they charge one real of the poor Indians ?"[26] He continued, saying that the officials responded by warning that "if he obstructed collection in any way it would be a grave sin and he would die", and that if the ritual offerings were not made in Cochillos "the malquis would be angered" and the irrigation canals and chacras would be lost.[27] Juan Chaupis intimated that he had reservations about the exactions, but that he had remained quiet in dread of the wrath of the old ministers of idols.

> He did not want to say a thing because he did not want them to kill him...because the old ministers put much fear in the Indians and told them it was a grave sin [wrong] to neglect offerings.[28]

One can only speculate on the reasons for the differences in these later witnesses' information on the reception that the maintenance of the Hacas-Cochillos relationship received among the villagers in Hacas. However, it is possible that in the months between January and April of 1657 conditions of life deteriorated, undoubtedly worsened by the fears and paranoia fuelled by the continued presence of the visita of idolatry in the region. When the rains began

that January, as the people started the ritual preparations in connection with their readying of the chacras and clearing of the irrigation canals, perhaps the offerings for the traditional sacrifices were not as easily gathered as in ordinary times.

At precisely the time when the sermons and stern warnings of the first segment of the visita were being reflected on, it is conceivable that, for the villagers, the exaction of a llama, or the money to purchase one, to make the very religious offerings that had been so dramatically "prohibited" by the Spanish visitador and his retinue, would have been only grudgingly spared. Whatever was the case in this respect, the determination exhibited by the officials of Hacas in an effort to keep up the traditional observances in fading Cochillos is testament to the strength of the cooperative mindset among the most vigilant in Hacas. It foreshadows similar attitudes and actions taken toward the maintenance of Indian religious connections and authority in a larger sense.

Cochillos was only one bond. Of no small concern to the community of Hacas were its close ties with its detached "archipelago", the Llacas ayllu, the tenders of the chacras on the warm slopes "five or six leagues from the village sticking to the <u>río</u> Barranca" that the Indians called the Guertas de Eruar - the well-watered

fertile fields.[29] As in the village of Cochillos, there appears to have been a severe demographic crisis in this Llacas ayllu in the mid-seventeenth century. Christóbal Hacas Malqui told the visitador that Llacas had dwindled to the point that it had

> no people save the two tributaries [and brothers], Bartolomé Chuchu Condor and Gonzalo Poma Lloclla and...the ayllu did not have ministers of idols.[30]

The testimonies are not expressive on the matter of their kin, but one suspects that the brothers had families. In the Guertas grew the ritual coca plant, the leaves of which were coveted not only by the main community of Hacas, but by most all the mountain villages in the region. Bartolomé Chuchu Condor told that every year he and his brother received requests from Don Christóbal Poma Libia of Hacas, Don Diego Julca Guaman of Chilcas, and a Don Pablo of the village of Machaca.[31] Bartolomé's brother, Gonzalo, explained that their product had two forms and served two distinct purposes: the "green coca" was used only for religious purposes, as a burnt offering to the idols, while the "dry coca" was used to "socosca", or to chew as a stimulant.[32]

Hacas's most obvious connection with the brothers of the Llacas ayllu was economic - a function of gaining access to the region suitable to the cultivation of coca. However, as was the case in the

community's relationship with Cochillos, the connection was also a deeply religious matter. The Guertas region possessed rich tradition that articulated a past that illuminated its significance to the community of Hacas as a whole.

Bartolomé Chuchu Condor related that years before, his father, Christóbal Caxa, had shown the two brothers the sacred machayes (cave tombs) that contained the great malquis of the region. A principal founding malqui was named Maiguaicaxa, and was said to have been the first Indian to bring the coca to the Guertas de Eruar from a village called Quitas.[33] In another machay were six other malquis, said by the father to have been the ones who constructed the first irrigation canals. Near a special spring was a large stone named Sumac guanca, the petrified protector of the water source, a stone that, according to the tradition, had once been an ancient Indian named Tupinguailla, the creator of this spring.[34] The significance of founding ancestors to Indian religion is discussed in the next chapter.

To meet the depopulation and lack of priests in the Llacas ayllu, the most experienced "itinerant priests" of Hacas, the inseparable Hernando Chaupis Condor and Alonso Chaupis, travelled to the Guertas to perform the religious ceremonies there. Ynes Julca Colque reported

what seems to have been common knowledge in the village, that the brothers, Bartolomé and Gonzalo, regularly provided offerings of llamas and cuyes to these ministers in return for their sacrificial services.[35] The supply of coca had a great religious significance and cemented the religio-economic interrelationship.

Thus, the people of Hacas, in both good times and bad, remained aware of their connections. Colonial restructuration had not fundamentally changed these, and the tradition of family and communal landholding in Hacas and its region had remained. People sowed their chacras for extended family consumption and for exchange for other foodstuffs. Moreover, they retained their ayllu status in more than name. Social obligations governed many group tasks, such as the construction of homes, the working of the common chacras, the clearing of the irrigation canals and tending the herds. People lived with their respective ayllu groups in barrios in the immediate area of the village and their fields.

In the middle of the seventeenth century in Hacas, the Indians tell of eight ayllus in direct connection with the village: Chacas, Tacas, Carampa, Yanaqui, Quirca, Canta, Picoca and Llacas. Of these, as has already been noted above in relation to the Llacas

ayllu, the latter two were suffering serious depopulation at the time of Noboa's visita. Ayllu disintegration in the colonial era, of course, was not new. Concerning their own traditional divisions, the Indians of Hacas indicated to the visitador that the number of ayllus had significantly diminished in comparison to what is vaguely referred to as ancient times. Hernando Chaupis Condor, for example, stated that his particular kin group, the Yanaqui ayllu, had once been nine groups, with each division having had its own traditions and malquis, the names of which he could almost completely recite.[36] The continuity of the ayllu as a social and economic entity within the framework of the village does not appear to have much bothered the Spanish authorities, providing that some of the community's arable lands were allotted for the payment of tribute in kind and that these demands were consistently met by the Indians. The Spanish approach to enforcing their forms of authority in the local Indian setting followed a similar path.

* * *

The theory behind the creation of reducciones such as San Pedro de Hacas in Andean Peru had been to allow for improved contact with the Indian population. From a Spanish religious perspective, the reducciones had

allowed for the widespread instroduction of parishes and clergy into Indian areas based on a Castilian model. For the miners, mita foremen and landowners, the concentrations of people meant that potential labour forces could be much easier to raise. From a Spanish political perspective, in a reducción - no matter which traditional Andean social structures had survived - the Indian people could be accounted for, more easily controlled and, perhaps, eventually Hispanised. In their aspiration to consolidate effective means of government and control in restructured Indian communities such as Hacas, Spanish desires were tempered by reality. While the complete assimilation of the Indians into colonial Spanish forms of authority was undoubtedly desirable, the endurance of political and social positions dictated by Andean tradition could not be underestimated.

Cabildos were essentially village councils (called alternatively concejos, ayuntamientos and comunas), fashioned after the Spanish model of local administration. In Peru, the so-named cabildo de indios is an example of the very instance of Indian participation in a Spanish form of authority that had been grafted on to the traditional forms of Indian power in the community. Spaniards and creoles were prohibited from holding positions on these cabildos, as

these councils were purely Indian affairs meant to provide the restructured Indian communities - or *repúblicas*, as they were called when they had been granted and had elected a cabildo - with at least a semblance of their own jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters. Ideally, the cabildo's members would include an alcalde (mayor or justice of the peace, and to the people, *varayoc*) - or two if the community boasted more than eighty homes [37]) - four *regidores* (aldermen), an *alguacil* (bailiff), separate alcaldes in charge of water and land, an *escribano* or *quipucamayoc* (clerk), a *pregonero* (crier), and a *verdugo* (an enforcer of penalties).[38] These officials were elected each year, chosen almost invariably from the indigenous aristocracy, the principales, of each village. Their acceptance of Spanish positions, however, did not mean they had completely turned their backs on traditional forms of government.

One learns of a few of the the principales in Hacas at the time of Visitador Noboa's examination. Juan Raura of the Tacas ayllu and Pedro Poma Guras (ayllu unknown) had both been alcalde, and the principales Christóbal Pampa Condor, Domingo Tantayana and Christóbal Tunquis, all of the Chaca ayllu, had served as clerks and officials of the cabildo.[39] Regrettably, the visita of idolatry tells little of the

specific actions of the cabildo de indios in Hacas. Generally, however, it is known that this institution, as a representative body, would protect and advance the interests of the community in disputes over field boundaries, sources of water, work projects and the holding of festivals. These cabildos, according to Waldemar Espinoza, recorded nothing of their proceedings, preferring, instead to hear its cases in a completely oral manner in the open air of the plaza a few times a week.[40]

As a judicial body the cabildo was empowered to exercise its authority in relatively minor matters such as land squabbles, petty theft and lawsuits that involved no more than thirty pesos.[41] If sentences required more than the maximum that the cabildo was allowed to prescribe - "one peso [and] on fault of payment...twenty lashes"[42] - then matters were handed over to the corregidor de indios (the chief magistrate in charge of Indian affairs) and a larger tribunal that included a Spanish defense counsel, the protector de indios.[43]

The cabildo of the repúblicas de indios was supported by many royal cédulas (proclamations), and was undeniably an institution that could work to the community's advantage. And yet, what appeared so enlightened on paper, was often, in practice, of little

consequence for the bands of village officials. They found themselves in combat with powerful regional corregidores, and with miners, hacendados and even some Indian officials intent on economic and political gain on the backs of Indian labourers from the villages. At times, the cabildo must have seemed to the Indians little more than a token gesture in their interest. Thus, at crisis points in life, and during disputes with the dominant Spaniards, the Indians' testimonies consistently mention the principales' reversion to traditional forms of authority beneath the institutions they had been granted.

Perhaps the best examples of this that one finds in the testimonies from Hacas in 1657 involve various matters of dispute with Spanish priests and other individuals, namely the Licentiate Cartajena, a man named Martín Vintín, a Father Andrés Morales and Lucas de Escuer. The details of the issues between the villagers and these Spaniards remain a mystery. However, in each case the principales of the cabildo of Hacas turned back to traditional means for direction and, apparently, to fortify their chances for success. They collected offerings and gave them to the chief minister of idols in Hacas, Hernando Hacas Poma, that he would make sacrifices to the ancestor Guamancama for strength. Most important, they claim to have implored

Hacas Poma to seek a response from this revered malqui on the correct line of negotiations to pursue with the Spaniards to their advantage. On these occasions, Hacas Poma would assert his command over the entire village, calling for a fast from salt and ají out of respect as they awaited the malqui's reply. These were always repeated in great pomp in the village.

In the case of an equally vague item in dispute with the priest Morales, for example, Pedro Sarmiento explained that the chief minister, and thus the malqui, had recommended a settlement to lessen the pressure caused by the Spaniard's presence:

> Our Yayanchi and Father [Hacas Poma] said that you [the principales] are to come to an agreement with this priest...that he will go soon from the parish.[44]

On the evidence provided by Noboa's visita records, one can safely state that the most respected powers in the village of Hacas were acknowledged by the people as endowed, not by the conquerors at all, but by tradition.

Andean positions of authority at the local level could be either political or religious in a general sense, while most often in their traditional essence they reflected the subtle combination of the two.[45] At the highest echelon was the kuraka (or by the Spanish generic term, cacique), a local Indian lord or headman in the precarious position as intermediary

between two distinct worlds. In an insightful recent article, Susan E. Ramírez has delineated an old- and a new-style kuraka in the early colonial epoch: the first being the colonial version of the "curaca de los viejos antiguos", primarily a redistibutive lord whose authority was based on tradition and his ability to deserve the trust of the people and "effect good government", and the second, a lord who had used his traditional authority to mobilise a community's produce and labour to provide a surplus for Spanish, and his own, gain.[46] In addition, like investigators before her, Ramírez recognises the existence of the kuraka in "the grey area", the dually expedient Indian lord walking the fine line between the two worlds.

The kuraka described by the people of Hacas in 1657 was a regional chief, as opposed to a power that was resident in the village itself. Don Juan de Mendoza, the "cacique gobernador" of the Spanish repartimiento (tribute district) of Chaupiguaranga de Lampas, of which Hacas was a part, lived in the village of Rajan (Rahan or Raan by the notary's renderings).[47] Don Juan seems the very embodiment of the combined necessity of pragmatism and attention to traditional legitimacy that was demanded of the early colonial kurakazgo (kuraka-hood).

Don Juan's son, Don Alonso de Mendoza, had attended

the Jesuit's College of the Prince in the Cercado of Lima to learn to read and write. Francisco Poma y Altas of Hacas told Noboa's examination that on three separate occasions that he could remember, the kuraka, out of concern for his son, had come to the village seeking the assistance of the renowned chief minister, Hernando Hacas Poma. On each occasion, Poma y Altas revealed, the kuraka had brought a llama, a number of cuyes, some coca and fat, and he had requested that Hacas Poma burn these offerings in sacrifice to the great idol of the village, Yanarau (sometimes Yana Tarqui Vrao), asking that his Alonso in Lima "would leave there learned (buen letrado)...(and as such) could continue in the office of cacique and governor — that his father possessed."[48]

The kuraka had accepted for himself and his son, the title of a Castilian hidalgo, "Don". The records do not tell of any other Spanish trappings the kuraka had assumed. Yet, in having Don Alonso in school in the Cercado, and in wishing him every success in learning Spanish and the arts and practises of "good" government, Don Juan de Mendoza recognised the great advantage this learning would give the young man who was to succeed him in the complex role of intermediary. Still, it is interesting that, in his desire to bring Alonso the tools for success, he found it necessary to

turn back to his own Indian world to coax the blessings and strength from the traditional forces of the idols and malquis.

While one might suspect the kuraka of a clever maneuver and only a gesture of symbolic support of the power of a local Indian priest and his mediation into the Andean Other World, these acts only represent an introduction to both the depth of Don Juan's connection to Indian beliefs, and his recognition of where his real base of power lay. As Luís Millones has shown in his wider study of kuraka control, in most cases there was not "any cold decision to repair or strengthen political power with spells or sorcery."[49] A few examples support this assertion in the case of Don Juan de Mendoza.

On the three occasions mentioned, after the sacrifices had been made with the kuraka in attendance, Francisco Poma y Altas continued, their governor had sat with the principales "and many other Indians of the village of Hacas", drinking chicha and eating of the llama whose blood had been sacrificed for the welfare of his son. During this feast, Francisco told the visitador, the kuraka had spoken to him and the other people present, impressing on them the necessity of keeping their and his practices secret:

> Observe that we are Indians and although we worship [the idol] Yanarau, that it is our custom not to tell it to anyone.[50]

After a time, Don Juan de Mendoza's son, according to two of the visita's witnesses, had taken very ill at school in Lima and was brought back to the highlands by his father. Passing through Hacas with Alonso, the kuraka was said to have asked Hernando Hacas Poma to follow him to his village. Poma y Altas told the examination his thoughts on the reason for this, claiming that the minister and healer (curandero) was in Rajan for many days, obviously curing Don Juan's son, as the notary put it, "with superstitions."[51]

Five or six years before the visita's arrival in the village, it was recalled that the kuraka had come to Hacas on another occasion accompanied by a painter named Domingo Yanas. The two reportedly killed a llama they had brought with them, after which Don Juan de Mendoza was said to have stated to all the Indians in attendance:

> I am your governing cacique. We are making this sacrifice and we are spilling the blood of this llama on this earth that I will know to govern and guide with peace and calmness, and that we are in peace and may live in tranquility.[52]

After this, the Indians came together to eat the meat of the llama that had been offered, and they spent the

night drinking, dancing, playing their tiny drums while they "chewed coca and poured it to the ground."[53] Juan Raura added that on this night, with their kuraka, they all had played a superstitious game called Aina to foretell if their fortunes would be good or bad. Bars of wood were thrown into the air as contestants attempted to hit these with "ribis", or long thin wires tied at each end to balls of lead. As it was explained, after each toss the person whose ribi "gains the most turns on the stick is the winner."[54] In addition to providing some amusement, such games of chance were traditional means of decision-making. The kuraka's acceptance of these as the way things were done in Hacas, in addition to his apparent encouragement of local religious survival, is a significant comment on both his attitude and the nature of the village.

While Don Juan de Mendoza dealt with the Spaniards, and could be identified within the rulers' hierarchy as easily as with the Indians', this kuraka's recognition of the foundations of his position in the customary Andean world was of equal, if not more, importance to him in the end. Denunciations flew on many fronts, but there is no record of any enmity concerning the kuraka's person or his demands in the testimonies taken by Noboa's visita in Hacas. Christóbal Poma Libia, in

fact claimed that when Don Juan "came to their town, the Indians welcomed their governor with love and fondness (amor y boluntad (sic))"[55] His mindfulness of the traditional interrelationships of respect and committment in Hacas seems to have gained him the loyalty and even the friendship of local religious leaders and the general population. It also indicated that he saw where true village power lay.

Beneath the kuraka, indigenous authority within the confines of the village of Hacas took on a dual character in the colonial period. Where religious and political authority had traditionally worked together, perhaps even embodied in one or two officials with authority in both spheres, this had changed. An informal council of the principales fulfilled a mostly "secular" role. Many of these individuals were, or had been, associated with the cabildo de indios. The village principales were a traditional form of indigenous government accepted by the dominant Spanish. First among them was an official resembling the kuraka, only on a lesser scale, the village's camachico.[56] The camachico's position, and that of this elder council in general, is perhaps best defined by the verb used by the visitador's notary to describe their traditional function, "camachicar", which is to say they possessed the authority to summon all the

ayllus together for the purposes of proclamations or a presentation of a number of demands. The camachico of Hacas at the time of Noboa's visita was Don Christóbal Poma Libia. The rest of the indigenous aristocracy, the members of which have been alluded to above, included Christóbal Pampa Condor, Domingo Tantayana, Christóbal Tunquis, Pedro Caico and a few others on different occasions.

The lords of the spiritual realm in Hacas were the more elusive members of the village, from a Spanish perspective. The leaders of the clandestine Indian observances were not accepted by the Spanish as legitimate persons of influence on decisions in Hacas, and indeed, these individuals represent the primary reason for the presence of the persecuting visita of idolatry in the first place. The explanation for the Spaniards' willingness to accept customary political reality in the village and not forms of religious authority is obvious and two-fold. The Church had refused compromise with the Indian beliefs, thus any actions that might have appeared to lend legitimation to the proponents of local religion were out of the question. By the same refusal, the Spanish also betrayed their recognition of the fact that the most potent sources of power among the Indians, and thus the elements that were potentially the most obstructive to

full Spanish - and thus Catholic - control, continued to be the local ministers. These individuals had been intermittently pursued since the Conquest and the Catholic priests urged the Indians not to look to them for guidance. The campaigns of the Extirpation endeavoured to eliminate any scattered religious organisations that obstinate individuals fostered.

The situation uncovered by Noboa proved to be a most serious version of the same problem. The clandestine spiritual authority there was not merely an individual sorceror or shaman who corrupted a few; it consisted of an indigenous priesthood ordained in their positions in each of the principal social units in the village (See Figure I). The visita testimonies illustrate that this priesthood held sway in Hacas, and was made up of the most respected authorities in the village. With their encouragement the people persisted in their old beliefs and traditions and, moreover, adhered to an active opposition to Catholic impositions.

At the top of the religious hierarchy there was indisputably a "ministro mayor", a religious master of all, Hernando Hacas Poma, who led the body of other ministers, each associated with their respective ayllus. Hacas Poma and the other chief ministers were also sacrificing priests. In other cases as well,

FIGURE I THE INDIGENOUS PRIESTHOOD OF HACAS

CHACA ayllu	
Hernando Hacas Poma	chief prst,min-conf,dogm,div, heal
Christóbal Hacas Malqui	sheph,ass-conf,sacr, dogm
Pedro Sarmiento	sacr,ass-min-conf, div
Christóbal Pampa Condor*	div,ass-conf,sacr,dogm
Christóbal Poma Libia*	camachico
Domingo Tantayana*@	clerk of cabildo
Christóbal Tunquis*@	clerk of cabildo
Leonor Ñabin Carua@	chicha,sacr,dogm,sorcr
TACAS ayllu	
Juan Raura	min-conf,dog,once alcalde
Domingo Ribera	sacr,granary
Cathalina Chaupis Maiguai	chicha,min-conf,sacr,granary
CARAMPA ayllu	
Andrés Guaman Pilpi	min-conf,dogm
Pedro Caico*	min-conf,sacr,div,granary,dogm
Alonso Quispi Guaman	min-conf,sacr, dogm
Leonor Ñabin Carua	sorc,sacr,dogm
Francisca Ñabin Colqui	chicha,sacr
Ynes Marcallano	min-conf
YANAQUI ayllu	
Hernando Chaupis Condor	dogm,min-conf,div,heal,wch
Alonso Chaupis the blind@	dogm,ass-min-conf,heal,wch
Pedro Capcha Yauri	sheph,sacr,ass-min-conf,div
Pedro Guaman Vilca@	sheph, sacr
QUIRCA ayllu	
Alonso Chaupis the blind	min-conf,dogm,heal,wch
Pedro Guaman Vilca	sheph,sacr,ass-min-conf
Ynes (Julca) Colqui@	sorc,wch,div
Christóbal Tunquis*	clerk of cabildo
Pedro Sarmiento@	sacr
CANTA ayllu	
Domingo Taicachi,cripple	min-conf,div,dogm
Ysabel Vilca Tanta	min-conf,chicha,
Alonso Quispi Capcha	sacr
Hernando Poma Quillai	div,sorc,sacr,ass-min-conf
Ynes Julca Colque	sorc,wch,div,dogm,chicha
PICOCA ayllu	
Domingo Chaupis Yauri	min-conf,dogm
Ynes Llacsa Tanta	min-conf, sacr
Pedro Chaupis	ass-min-conf
Andrés Guailla Paico	sacr
Domingo Vilca	dogm
Leonor Llacsa	chicha,sacr
Domingo Yana	granary guardian
LLACAS ayllu	
Bartolomé Chuchu Condor	coca chacras
Gonzalo Poma Llocl1a	coca chacras

* VILLAGE PRINCIPALES @ SECOND AYLLU OFFICE

offices tended to overlap - meaning that a number of religious functions might be handled by one individual.

The minister or ministress of idols (the wak'avilla or malquivilla) held the most important office. This official was entrusted with care of certain idols (or wak'as) and malquis, and was one who professed to mediate the replies of these supernatural forces for the others. These ministers derived the basis of their power from this ability to communicate with the dead and the helping spirits of nature. In the ayllus of Hacas, these same chief ministers also held the high office of confessor of wrongs (aucache), and frequently, that of dogmatizador, or teacher of religious worship and relater of the ancient traditions.

It was this select group that led the Indians' religious survival and their ideological opposition to Spanish Catholic impositions. That the clandestine persistence had escalated to ideological opposition under the tutelage of these chief ministers of idols is most evident in relation to the festival observances that included active strategies to counter Catholic pressure. These themes receive discussion in the following chapters. Suffice it to say at this point that the ayllus' chief ministers represent, as do the shamans portrayed so expertly in a much wider sense by

Mircea Eliade, "the small mystical elite [that] not only directs the community's religious life, but, as it were, guards its 'soul'"[57] Their capacity for asserting their traditional control over the Indian realm in the village of Hacas had persisted, and in some senses. had even increased by the seventeenth century.

Exploration of the relationship between the villagers and the chief ministers reveals much about the source and definition of power in Hacas at this time. However, the author acknowledges that this study cannot fully discuss the realm of "spiritual politics" in the Andes to the extent deserved. This and related themes have been traversed with insight, and with treatment of a more general frame of reference, by others in the field.[58]' In light of these efforts, what can be learned from the visita of 1657 of the spiritual and political atmosphere of San Pedro de Hacas represents a small, but nonetheless interesting, glimpse.

In the village of Hacas, where much of the traditional influence and jurisdiction of the traditional office of camachico (or kuraka) had survived, the compliance of Don Christóbal, in at least the preliminary phases of preparation for festivals, would have been of crucial importance to religious

activity.[59] Prior to the celebration of the festivals (see discussion below) the camachico was involved in the garnering of religious offerings from the Indians.[60] The determination of the nature of his participation - willing or out of fear and respect for Hernando Hacas Poma and the religious ministers - introduces the power structure in the village.

Hernando Hacas Poma and Hernando Chaupis Condor, indisputably the two most prominent religious men in the village, both clearly implicated Don Christóbal in the operations of the festivals. Hacas Poma stated that Poma Libia and the other political officials,

> as bosses (mandones) and camachicos of the village, commanded by announcement that the men and women come along to the confessions and fasts and gather together offerings in their ayllus of coca, cuyes, llama fat, maize and coricallanca [a prized sea shell made into powder].[61]

Hernando Chaupis Condor claimed, in addition, that the camachico and the cabildo clerk, Domingo Tantayana, had ordered him "with threats, not to reveal any idols or malquis to the visitador because he [Noboa] would banish them all to the Cercado."[62] The implications of their accusations suggest, not only the camachico's and some principales' willingness to assist in the the collection of offerings for festivals, but also a real concern for the concealment of the Indian objects of worship from the Spanish. Visitador Noboa, however,

had an obligation to judge the credibility of his witnesses to the best of his ability.

The centrality of both of the ministers' roles in the village cult had soon been established by Noboa, and in the case of Hacas Poma, had likely been decided, on the basis of numerous reports of his activities, even before the visitador arrived in Hacas.[63] To the desperate minds of the two Hernandos,amidst rumours of betrayal, the implication of another - and a camachico at that - would have been very appealing. If the camachico, who had frequent dealings with the Spanish, could be implicated in the encouragement of the clandestine religious practices it might lessen the apparent degree of their own perpetration.

Don Christóbal Poma Libia, however, in self-defense, redirected accusations straight back at the religious officials. The camachico began his statement before Noboa by solemnly noting his position and saying that he was a principal in the village. He informed the examination that he was acting in accordance with the edict of grace that had been issued, calling for the villagers to seek salvation by declaring their idols and pointing out the chief idolaters in their midst. The pitiful self-portrayal and diminishment of his own role and power in anything to do with the indigenous festivals betrays his overall

tone. He said that he was

> an incapable Indian (yndio yncapas), persuaded and instructed by Hernando Hacas Poma, the old sorceror [and] dogmatiser.[64]

He declared that Hacas Poma had even attempted to provide him with incentive, telling him that by following his requests, the camachico "would win the respect of all the Indians."[65] Don Christóbal said further that the aged chief priest had even threatened him, saying that if he did not assist in gaining the necessary sacrificial offerings "he would have to die a bad death."[66] He said that these threats were the very reasons he gave consent to the Indians to obey old Hacas Poma, and were why he had tolerated, and participated in, the worship of the idols and malquis. After naming the complete list of the ministers and "dogmatisers" in the village, Don Christóbal Poma Libia was recorded to have said: "on my part, I ask mercy for that which I have alleged."[67]

His examples from memory tended, predictably, tended to downplay his own role and highlight his own concurrent efforts at resisting what he portrayed as Hacas Poma's and the other ministers' excessive religious exactions from the people for the purposes of the cult. On one occasion Hacas Poma was said to have sought a llama for the purpose of a sacrifice to the group of stars in the heavens that the Indians called

Oncuicuillor or the "seven nannygoats" (the siete cabrillas or Pleiades).[68] Don Christóbal claimed that he had told the chief minister that there was no llama that could be spared for that purpose because of their poverty.[69] He related that on another occasion he had suffered a brush with the same Hacas Poma concerning the sowing of a certain chacra named Anrol dedicated to the great wak'a Vrau (Yana Tarqui Vrao). Don Christóbal told Noboa that he had attempted to explain that in the region they called Antachacra, where most of the land had traditionally been dedicated to wak'as and malquis, there were a number of fields that were not under cultivation. It made little difference, the camachico said,

> Hernando Hacas Poma was greatly angered and he told me to command that this chacra of the wak'a Vrau be sown...and warned that, if it was not done and if I did not command it, I would have to die, and like this he left it.[70]

The camachico's confessions are not surprising given his kuraka-like position as intermediary between the Spanish and Indian worlds. When Noboa's visita of idolatry was in the village, it was simply expedient for him to deny his willful complicity in the operations of the clandestine cult. However, his wider claim of Hacas Poma's control is more important and deserves some analysis. Examples from actual situations where authority was involved provide the

best insight and perspective into existing power in the village.

More than any other, it was clear that Hernando Hacas Poma inspired much respect - and even a fear - in the village. This, of course, affected more people than simply the camachico and principales. Hacas Poma's powers were essentially that of a "shaman", a person believed to be intimate with the greater forces in the universe. Belief in the extent and fury of his powers were buoyed by his exhibitions of supernatural power: mysticism, prophetic visons and acts of healing. He, thus, became mystified with time. The testimonies of the villagers before Noboa revealed a number of stories that appear to have circulated in the village that told of the octogenarian's capacities, not the least interesting of which was revealed by Francisco Poma y Altas.

According to this witness, at a time when he was acting prosecutor (fiscal) in the village, he had been approached by the Catholic parish priest, Father Ignacio de Ozerín, regarding the exceptionally poor attendance of the Indians at church.[71] The witness said that the parish priest became very angered and commanded that Francisco go from home to home in the village to force the people to attend his services. As the Indian well knew, it was the sacred time of fasting

and confessions (see discussion below). The Indians believed that the offerings they had made to their ancestors and idols would all be for nought if they stepped inside a Christian church.[72] Thus, Francisco told the visitador of idolatry, he had encountered much resistance in his rounds and suffered the fiercest argument and most hostility from the old minister, Hernando Hacas Poma, who told the witness

> that he should not disturb or obstruct the custom because it would cause a great evil (sickness) to himself.[73]

Despite the threat, and fearing reprisal from Father Ozerín, Francisco said he had forced Hacas Poma by jostling and shoving (metio y trajo a empellones) to enter the church.[74]

Immediately after that day Francisco Poma y Altas claimed he began to "seriously sicken" and, growing very thin, he said he could not move from his home for six months. When he was at the point of death and "obliged to receive the sacraments" (evidently the consolamentum from the parish priest), he said that Hernando Hacas Poma' s wife had come as the minister's messenger to his bedside. She was said to have told Francisco that if he did not wish to die he was to give her a llama for her husband to sacrifice to the malquis and idols on his behalf. He did as she said.

The next day, Poma y Altas said, Hacas Poma himself

came to Francisco asking for cuyes, llama fat and coca, and proceeded to cut six hairs from the head of the sick man. Francisco's own wife then accompanied Hacas Poma to a place the witness described as "a wall of the old town of the Tacas ayllu, close to where the idol Yanaurau is", and there she watched the old minister slaughter the cuyes in the traditional way and burn the mixture of coca, fat and the other things along with the hairs of her husband.[75]

From that "day and hour" Francisco claimed he began to recover from his illness. He stated that he had gone directly to Hernando Hacas Poma to thank him for his health, and had told him, "Yayamic, my father, you have great wisdom and you are a doctor who made me sick (me hiso este mal)." Francisco said that Hacas Poma's response to him had been this:

> I am the one who made you sick because you took me to the church by force and by shoves...and did the same to all the Indians at the time that we [were] fasting to our idols and wak'as. Watch that it does not happen another time because to you will return the same sickness.[76]

Notably, popular testimony from the villagers attests that Hernando Hacas Poma confined his power to create sickness and "do evil" to occasions when he perceived obstructions and threats to the proper observance of the indigenous festivals and to the

survival of the clandestine Indian faith. He also had the power to heal and to do "good". One principal of the village, Don Domingo Tantayana, seems to have more properly respected Hacas Poma than feared him. Once, he said he had turned to the minister with the usual cuyes, coca, fat and chicha in the hopes that Hacas Poma would make offerings to the malquis to ask their favour on behalf of his daughter who was dying.[77]

Within the power structure of village authority, Hernando Hacas Poma seems to have commanded the most respect. His perceived ability to channel into the powers that governed the natural world meant that he could consult with the malquis on a multitude of matters: the chance of rainfall, labour disputes, the ordination of new ministers of idols, the fates of individuals. In a mountain village still very much guided by traditional connections this provided him with a far-reaching eminence. In his most important function, his guardianship of the faith was the traditional religion's most important shield against the possibility of a fading Indian vigilance in maintaining the clandestine practices of worship in the face of pressure that aimed to break their cultural connections. Yet the shield could also become a sword of more active opposition. Hernando Hacas Poma's efforts had once secured the departure of a Catholic

priest from the region.[78] His "sermons" to the Indians at the time of their semi-annual festivals (see discussion below) dealt with the ineffectiveness of the Spaniards' faith in the villagers' world. With people such as he in positions of spirito-political authority there remained the chance to maintain in Hacas both the vigour in the clandestine priesthood and the activity of the resistant religious organisation.

* * *

The religious official that earlier in the seventeenth century Father Arriaga noted as a yanapac, appears in the mid-century Spanish documents from Hacas as a sacristan or apprentice-minister. In addition to being responsible for the preparation of the offerings for sacrifices, these persons could also assist the minister-confessors in the main tasks of worship.[79] In traditional times, sacristans and apprentices were chosen from the among the faithful for their unique strengths and distinguishing physical features such as deformities, blindness and even insanity that seemed to indicate their special capacities. Bestowal of religious offices in seventeenth-century Hacas was through both hereditary transmission and special election (or recruitment by the chief ministers). In either case, the transference of religious power to an

individual was presided over by the ministers of the respective ayllu, who would present the new official, in whatever capacity, before the idols or malquis he or she was to serve.[80] Pedro Chaupis, for example, (refer to Figure I when necessary) was the nephew of the minister of the Picoca group, Domingo Chaupis Yauri, and, on his uncle's recent death, had inherited the service of two of the idols in his ayllu.[81] Pedro Capcha Yauri, the shepherd and assistant minister-confessor of the Yanaqui ayllu was said to have inherited his service of the idols "by succession from his ancestors."[82]

In times of clandestinity and demographic struggle, the necessity of filling as many positions as possible required that ordination into the clandestine priesthood by recruitment become more common. A prime example was Pedro Sarmiento of Chaca, who told the visitador that the chief minister of the Yanaqui ayllu, Hernando Chaupis Condor, had come to him looking for a successor because the minister was old and perceived a shortage of candidates in his own ayllu.[83] In either type of ordination, if the ministers bestowed powers on shepherds, assistants or sacristans, it was clear that these assistants were being groomed for higher offices in the future.

In addition to these main posts, there were a

series of lesser but more specialised appointments that were religious in character. While the Spaniards often utilised the ambiguous blanket term "hechicero", or sorceror, to describe a number of religious functionaries in the Indian world, the official closest to meeting the European term's connotations was the diviner. In the village of Hacas, as one will note in reference to figure one, minister-confessors were often diviners as well. Divining might be done to foretell the chances for recovery of a sick man, or to predict such things as luck in love, fortune in a land dispute or the abundance of crops. The Jesuit Arriaga's first-hand experience on visita had allowed him to identify a number of varieties in the areas he visited - diviners who consulted everything from the loose flesh on their arms to peoples' dreams.[84] In Hacas the most frequently mentioned office of divination involved the observation of the legs of spiders, an art the Indians called socyapaccha.

Two of the more famous fortune-tellers in Hacas, Hernando Poma Quillai the cripple of the Canta ayllu, and the village principal, Christóbal Pampa Condor of Chaca, explained their divination with spiders most fully.[85] Both related that to begin, a spider would be caught and placed on a rock with a sprinkling of coca and maize flour in full view of the sun. The

malquis, idols and especially the sun would then be invoked for assistance. Pampa Condor said that he would whisper in his language "yntiyaya munascaita cuyamai", or "Father Sun give me that which I wish and ask for".[86] The legs of the spider would be watched intently for movement. The legs on the creature's right side indicated "good", thus if they moved and did not fail to position themselves under the spider correctly, it was taken as a fortuitous sign. If the creature's right legs did "fail", or worse yet, if the legs of the left side lifted, it was a bad sign.[87] A bad omen from these acts of divination was thought to indicate that the people who had requested them, or the entire village in the case of a harvest prediction, had committed unpardonable wrongs, usually involving negligence in their adherence to traditional worship practices.

Similar to the usage of hechicero, the designation of "brujo" or "bruja" - witch, male or female - was not an indigenous religious office per se, but was applied by the Spanish to a special set among the sorcerors and diviners. It befell four religious officials in Hacas in 1657: Hernando Hacas Poma, whose powers in most all spheres was widely revealed; the duo of Hernando Chaupis Condor and Alonso Chaupis the blind; and the diviner and sorceress, Ynes Julca Colque (sometimes

noted as Ynes Colqui).

While Henry C. Lea and Gustav Henningsen among others have proven that the phenomenon of the European "witch-craze" that culminated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was, in Spain, considerably "less dreadful than the rest of Europe", the fear of witches was not unknown.[88] The Spanish visitadores in Peru were inescapably laden with intellectual baggage that, among other things, included images and notions of withcraft and its real and mythical manifestations in local superstition.[89] The distinction between the witch and the sorceror seemed to rest on the conceived precept that the witch existed primarily to do evil. In mountain villages in seventeenth-century Peru, some of the Indians' descriptions of local religious officials who could use their magico-religious powers to do harm by spells and curses, and who might even effect the deaths of others, spurred predictable comparisons. Pablo José de Arriaga had obviously digested some of the Indians' folklore and tales of good and evil, and had translated the Quechua runamicu as "man-eater".[90] In the district of Cajatambo, with the Indians' designation of a queta runamicu, the Andean witch was born.

To provide one example, Andres Guaman Pilpi professed to know quite a bit about these "killing

witches" during his time before the visitador. He explained that an Indian of the village named Christóbal Bilca, who had been dead a year, had "killed people with his spells and magic". This Bilca's wife, upon hearing of the visita's presence and intent to conduct an examination in Hacas, had fled to the neighbouring parish of Ocros, either out of fear of her own practices being revealed or of implication in her husband's crimes.[91] Through means that one cannot know, Noboa was able to persuade Guaman Pilpi to confess information concerning a resident in Hacas who carried out these practices. Andres Guaman Pilpi testified that Hernando Chaupis Condor was a queta runamicu, a killing witch. With only a strongly implied reference to the curses of Chaupis Condor, the witness claimed that he "had heard said" that a child belonging to Alonso Quispi Guaman of the Carampa ayllu had been killed, and that a regidor of the cabildo, a man named Juan (surnames not remembered), had been stricken with a sickness called caracha (scabs and a rash) "because of spells".[92] Attitudes toward curing illnesses were similar. Ill health was an evil that was believed to descend on people not without reason.

Three witnesses in Hacas told of whirlwinds (remolinos) that they offered maize flour and coca to, believing that these winds had brought sicknesses to

the village.[93] As were most manifestations of "bad" in the Andean world, things like illness and drought were intimately associated with the displeasure of the ancestors and idols. Thus, healing was also a religious function, and in Hacas, as elsewhere, the office of curandero was often performed by the ministers of idols themselves.

The main healers of the village thus, included Hernando Hacas Poma, Hernando Chaupis Condor, Alonso Chaupis the blind, Ynes Julca Colque and Leonor Nabin Carua. Their curing of the sick could be said to have involved a combination of folk medicine and pure faith in the power to be had through the maintenance of a favourable relationship with the idols and malquis. The narratives in the visita records telling of the village healers' arts concur on basic procedure, while the specific treatments of peoples' wounds and sicknesses seem to have varied from one curandero to the next.

Most accounts told that after the usual mixture of offerings had been made to the malquis and idols, a cuy would be killed in the sacrificial manner with the minister's fingernail.[94] It was related that at this point the healers would commonly divine the patient's chances, removing the liver from the animal to inspect its condition. If the organs were pink (or white,

blanco) and healthy it was thought to be a sign that the sick person would recover, but if the livers appeared dark and crushed, it meant the person was to die.[95] Another common practice involving the cuy utilised the curative powers believed to be possessed by the animal's body. Both Leonor Ñabin Carua and Hernando Chaupis Condor said they would "rub the sick person over the entire body" with the cuy before proceeding.[96]

Hernando Hacas Poma explained that in treating a wound, he would first massage the "sick part" with ground coca, maize flour and the powder of a white rock called pasca.[97] Chaupis Condor noted that his own rubbing ingredients included a pepper from Chile called carauchu.[98] Hacas Poma, for his own part, testified further that next he would use his mouth to suck out "snakes...,toads, worms and other things."[99] The "things" that had been extracted would be covered with flour from white maize and coca leaves and taken outside the village, where an offering would be made of them, according to Hacas Poma, to the evil illness itself.[100] In his appearance before the visita, Hacas Poma went so far as to suggest to Bernardo de Noboa that the sicknesses and infections he described were the influence of the Devil (el demonio) himself, hence the necessity of removing these correctly "in the

Indian manner".[101] The chief priest's claims certainly seem to have been believed in Hacas, and even beyond. Indeed, Don Christóbal Poma Libia told the visitador what must have been common knowledge in the village, that Hacas Poma's renown as a curandero had even attracted a "Spaniard" named Figueroa to ask for his services.[102]

Beneath the ministers, their assistants, the diviners and healers, the people designated for the daily, more monotonous service of the clandestine religion made up the essential lower elements in the village's religious framework. The most important of these officers were the makers of chicha, the guardians of the chacras and granaries of the malquis and idols, and the tenders of the sacred herds of llamas. Hacas's prime example of the first of these appointments was the old woman Leonor Ñabin Carua, who, as figure one attests, performed services in both the Chaca and Carampa ayllus.

In addition to her capacity as a healer noted above, in her prime function Leonor was a "priestess" dedicated to the service of the great malqui Guamancama and the idol Yana Tarqui Vrao. The main task entrusted to her was the preparation of the special asao chicha, the white chicha to be offered to the malqui and wak'a at the indigenous festivals held in their honour. Juan

Raura testified that, of all the makers of chicha in the village, Leonor was the most precious to the chief priest, Hernando Hacas Poma, because she was neither "soiled" nor "contaminated".[103] In strict observance of her dedication to religious service she was said to have not once entered a church, heard Mass or attended a Catholic festival. Raura claimed that Hacas Poma had said that in comparison to Leonor,

> the young single women came along to the parish every day that they were called and, thus, are soiled and contaminated for making chicha for the sacrifices.[104]

However, other women who had been exposed to the Spaniards' religion did make the chicha as offerings in their respective groups.[105] However, as has been alluded to above in a few individuals' cases, most of these women were noted as having performed a number of other religious functions within the priesthoods of their ayllus, including priestess-confessors, sacristans, diviners and healers.[106]

Each ayllu in the village had a number of chacras given sacred names that the Indians claimed to have held since ancient times in devotion to their idols and malquis. These lands were said to be held <u>sapsi</u>, in common, by the people of the ayllu for religious purposes.[107] The produce from chacras sown to maize went towards the making of the ritual chicha, while

leaves from coca would be used as offerings in sacrifices. Hernando Hacas Poma, for example, related that the Chaca ayllu farmed two large tablelands called Anta chacra for this purpose.[108] Andres Guaman Pilpi told that the Carampa ayllu held Colcapampa and Antayoc chacra for their malquis.[109] Certain idols such as Yana Tarqui Vrao had entire plots of land dedicated only to them, this idol reportedly having two: Arin chacra and Oman chacra.[110] The ploughing, sowing, harvest and rituals connected with these lands appear to have been communal efforts. Ynes Julca Colque specified in this regard that every year for the past 56 (she claimed) she could remember the village principales issuing a proclamation calling the Indians to turn up for work on these sapsi lands.[111]

Religious officials called chacravillas or parianas were guardians elected, according to Hernando Chaupis Condor, once a year to this rotating office.[112] Their chief task was in keeping a vigilant watch over the plots of land in their care, protecting the yield from such things as the ravages of animals and birds or erosion caused by heavy rainfall. In a ritual sense, the parianas had the honour of harvesting the first maize of the season from these chacras, produce called the "primisias" or the first. These would be promptly given to the ayllu's ministers to be used as offerings

and to make the sacred chicha in dedication to the malquis and idols.[113]

The parianas would also keep a careful watch during the growing season for abnormal cobs of maize, as the peculiar were thought to be sacred. Misasaras had rings of brown kernels amidst the white and airiguasaras were half white and half brown in colour.[114] The five best of each type were collected and placed in the middle of the chacra after the harvest to be burned with some straw as an offering in hope of fertility the next year.[115] Saramamas were believed to be the corn creators and were of great religious significance. They were a phenomenona in which a cluster of four or five masorcas (cobs) were encountered where only one was usually produced. This was thought to be a sign of great fertility, thus the parianas saved the saramamas in the granaries that they could be worshipped and be used in a sacred dance called the airigua at harvest time.[116]

The granaries alluded to were protected by an agricultural religious official similar to the pariana of the chacras, the colcamayoc. Similarly, people were elected to these positions annually, and would be entrusted with the care of the maize being stored to make chicha and flour for sacrificial and festival purposes. A best example is perhaps presented by Pedro

Caico, who, upon listing the other colcamayocs of the other ayllus, detailed his own role as guardian of the colcas for the Carampa ayllu. He related that in addition to watching over the maize harvested from Antayoc chacra, he was also entrusted by the ministers of his ayllu to guard stashes of llama fat, coca, silver money and other things that had been collected to assist the festivals.[117] Pedro Guaman Vilca told the visitador of what other testimonies concur was a common practise of these guardians of the colcas. He said that small amounts of llama fat, coca, chicha and a slaughtered cuy would be offered and burned in the doorways of the granaries to make an "incense" in honour of the malquis

> that the maize will increase in the colca and not be eaten by the grubs (gorgojos) and may last until the next year and a new sown field.[118]

Also dedicated to the religious service were the herders or shepherds of the llamas of the malquis and idols. Like their European counterparts, the shepherds lived a different sort of life from the other villagers who were primarily sedentary agriculturalists. And yet, while these Andean herders moved with their herds, because their animals had a religious purpose, and "belonged" to an ayllu's idol or malqui, the shepherd was also less rootless and had a certain place within the religious framework in the community. The most

notable shepherds of llamas in Hacas in 1657 were Christóbal Hacas Malqui and Pedro Sarmiento of the Chaca ayllu, and Pedro Guaman Vilca and Pedro Capcha Yauri of Quirca and Yanaqui.

By most accounts the llama herds had been depleted considerably by the time of Noboa's visita. Nevertheless, it was essential that they be kept to provide sacrificial animals for religious ceremonies (see discussion of festivals). In the interest of each herd's prosperity and multiplication, individual shepherds were said to have kept, and taken especial care of, small idols or charms called conopas. These were believed to be powerful wak'as, and most had been handed down from forefathers to a succession of young apprentice-shepherds.[119] Pedro Guaman Vilca was said to have tended about thirty llamas in dedication to the idol Caqui Guaca, and claimed to have ten of his own.[120] Christóbal Hacas Malqui, though reports vary, may have had as many as thirty llamas, added to five or six that Hernando Hacas Poma is said to have kept, for Yana Tarqui Vrao.[121] Pedro Capcha Yauri had succeeded in his position from his ancestors and watched over between ten and thirty animals dedicated to the malqui Aca (or Hacac).[122] While there is no indication of the size of Pedro Sarmiento's herd, the fact that it escaped mention by most Indians probably

means it was quite small.[123]

Various stories, tradiciones, were told in the village of Hacas relating the different malquis' deeds and contributions in the history of the community. This theme receives wider and more proper attention in the next chapter. However, one particular tradición illuminates why the ancestor Aca, noted above, had, since "ancient times", enjoyed the dedication of a herd of llamas that were being tended by the shepherd Capcha Yauri in 1657. Francisco Poma y Altas claimed that this shepherd and others told the well-known story of Aca's great tricks. Apparently, when he lived and came into the presence of other Indians, he would inflate himself to a great size. Then, in the palm of his hand, and "by the art of the Devil" the notary records, Aca would create bushes of potatoes and maize.[124] Poma y Altas narrated that such acts

> caused great admiration and astonishment (admirasión y espanto(sic)) among the Indians and they venerated him as a man of great power.[125]

Since then, he concluded, the Indians had expressed their worship of this malqui and had dedicated a herd of llamas to him so that offerings might always be made.[126]

The number of religious offices, and the multiple functions of the people involved in the organised priesthood betrayed the pervasive role that religion

played in San Pedro de Hacas - even when it was forbidden. The visita testimonies reveal that when an ayllu member found him- or herself in a time of crisis, whether it involved health, a dispute, the seeking of advice or a blessing, it would be to the ayllu religious officials that the person would go. Maintaining a connection with the Other World of the ancestors and the forces of nature through the medium of the essential indigenous priesthood was of the utmost importance; it was the only way. Beyond the pervasive base of the daily functions of the religion, however, were the instances in which the clandestine religious organisation was most consequential to Indian life. It is through examination of the festival observances that the spiritual existence of San Pedro de Hacas in the mid-seventeenth century may best come into focus.

CHAPTER III NOTES :

1 W. Espinoza Soriano, "La Sociedad Andina Colonial" in J. Mejía Baca (ed.), Historia del Perú, tomo IV, 223 and S.J. Stern, Peru's Indian Peoples, 79.

2 H. Bonilla Mayta, La comunidades campesinas tradicionales de valle de Chancay, (Lima, 1965), 43.

3 Christóbal Hacas Malqui, folio 24, in P. Duviols, Cultura andina, 166 and Andres Guaman Pilpi, folio 30v, in P. Duviols, Ibid., 176. References to Noboa's visita of idolatry in Hacas in 1657 will hereafter appear in the following form: f #, Duviols #.

4 f 26v, Duviols 170. I wish, at this point, to draw attention to my spelling of foriegn names and phrases - both in Spanish and Quechua. In the interest of consistency, the names of individuals will appear as they do in the visita records. Thus, the modern Cristóbal is Christóbal, Ines is Ynes, and so on. I have, however, split Quechua names such as Hacaspoma and Chuchucondor, and these become Hacas Poma and Chuchu Condor. Otherwise, in spelling I attempt to conform with the 1956 recommendations of the Congreso Indigenista Internacional. Inca is thus Inka, and Waman and wak'a are used, not Huaman or huaca. The names of places and Indian idols and ancestors are not changed. See note on language and spelling in J.V. Murra, "Andean Societes Before 1532", in L. Bethell (ed.), The Cambridge History of Latin America, Volume I.

5 f 58v, Duviols 217.

6 f 31, Duviols 176.

7 E. Van Young, "Conflict and Solidarity in Indian Village Life: The Guadalajara Region in the Late Colonial Period", Hispanic American Historical Review, 64, 1, (February 1984), 55-80. See also Eric R. Wolf, "Closed Corporate Peasant Communities in Meso-America and Central Java", Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 13, (Spring 1957), 1-18.

8 E. Van Young, 56-59.

9 Sir C. Markham, Vocabularies of the General

Language of the Incas of Peru or Runa Simi, (London 1908), 45.

10 This is still a common phenomenon today in remote settings. See particularly B.J. Isbell, To Defend Ourselves: Ecology and Ritual in an Andean Village, (Austin, 1978).

11 L. Huertas Vallejos, 59. See discussion below concerning shared religious officials.

12 Diego González Holguin, (1608) as in S.J. Stern, Peru's Indian Peoples, 8.

13 C. García Rosell, Diccionario geográfico del Perú, (Lima, 1972).

14 To put these altitudes in perspective within the Andean cordillera as a whole, the average elevation of the sierra is above 3,000 metres. Occasional peaks exceed 4,000 metres, with the highest, Huascaran, to the north of Hacas, at 6768 metres. L. Lumbreras, The Peoples and Cultures of Ancient Peru, (Washington, 1974), 3.

15 J.V. Murra, Formaciones económicas y políticas del mundo andino, (Lima, 1975), 59-115.

16 S.J. Stern, Peru's Indian Peoples, 4.

17 Hernando Chaupis Condor, f 20, Duviols 161; Christóbal Hacas Malqui, f 28v, Duviols 173; Andrés Guaman Pilpi, f 31v-32, Duviols 177-178; Alonso Quispi Guaman, f 48v, Duv 202. See the discussion of the ritual hunt of these animals on the puna in the festival commemoration of origins below.

18 f 16, Duviols 154.

19 f 42, Duviols 193-194.

20 Spanish perceptions of the mountain peoples were generally of a fiercer, more robust people than those of the lowlands that died in such large numbers after Spanish contact. See particularly the distinction made between "Yuncas" (Yungas) and Sierra Indians in the impressions of the Jesuit scholar, Father Bernabe Cobo, in his History of the Inca Empire: An account of the Indians' customs and their origin together with a treatise on Inca legends, history and social institutions, Roland Hamilton (tr. and ed.), (Austin, 1979), 9-10.

21 f 25v, Duviols 168.

22 Hernando Chaupis Condor, f 21-21v, Duviols 162; see also Pedro Guaman Vilca, f 66v, Duviols 228.

23 f 21-21v, Duviols 162; Francisco Poma y Altas, f 38v, Duviols 188; Alonso Quispi Guaman, f46v, Duviols 199; Hernando Poma Quillai, f 52, Duviols 207; Pedro Sarmiento, f 54v, Duviols 211; Pedro Guaman Vilca, f 66v, Duviols 228; Juan Chaupis, f 86v, Duviols 240.
Pedro Poma Guras said this had gone on for "ten or twelve years that he could remember." f 84, Duviols 237.

24 Pedro Caico, f 44, Duviols 196; Andrés Guaman Pilpi, f 30, Duviols 175 and Pedro Guaman Vilca, f 66v, Duviols 228.

25 f 84, Duviols 237. A real was a silver coin of Spanish currency.

26 Ibid. Juan Chaupis told the same story, f 86v, Duviols 240.

27 f 84-84v, Duviols 237.

28 f 86v, Duviols 240.

29 This distance is given according to Bartolomé Chùchu Condor who lived there, f 63v, Duviols 224. The "Guertas" would have been in the vicinity of twenty-four miles from Hacas by the route described, where, as Bartolomé put it, "absolutely never has there arrived a [Catholic] priest."

30 f 25v, Duviols 169.

31 f 64, Duviols 225; his brother, Gonzalo Poma Lloclla gives the same, f 65, Duviols 226.

32 f 65, Duviols 226.

33 f 63v, Duviols 224. The tradicion of "Maiguaicaxa" is confirmed by Alonso Chaupis the blind, f 50, Duviols 205.

34 f 63v, Duviols 224.

35 f 33, Duviols 179; see also Christóbal Hacas Malqui, f 25v-26, Duviols 169; Francico Poma y Altas, f 38v, Duviols 188; Pedro Caico, f 43v,

Duviols 195-196; and Alonso Chaupis the blind, f 50, Duviols 205 and Hernando Chaupis Condor, f 19v, Duviols 159 themselves.

36 f 17v, Duviols 156.

37 W. Espinoza Soriano, 228.

38 Ibid.

39 In the course of their testimonies, the Indians usually mentioned these principales' names in connection with their cabildo positions. One learns of Juan Raura's "alcalde-ship" through his own testimony: f 41v, Duviols 192. Another principal, Pedro Caico, is noted by Francisco Poma y Altas, f 38 and 39, Duviols 187 and 189.

40 W. Espinoza Soriano, 229.

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid., 230.

44 f 54v-55, Duviols 211-212. In addition to Sarmiento, other accounts of the disputes appear in the testimonies of Christóbal Hacas Malqui, f 23v, Duviols 165-166 and f 24, Duviols 166; Andres Guaman Pilpi, f 30v, Duviols 176; Hernando Poma Quillai, f 52-52v, Duviols 208; Pedro Sarmiento, f 54v-55, Duviols 211-212; Pedro Guaman Vilca, f 66v, Duviols 228; Don Christóbal Poma Libia, f 109, Duviols 244; Pedro Poma Guras, f83v, Duviols 236; Juan Chaupis, f 86, Duviols 238-239.

45 On the echelons of Andean local power, see the work of Luís Millores and María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, especially Millones' "Religion and Power", and Rostworowski's Estructuras andinas.

46 S. Ramírez, "The 'Dueno de Indios': Thoughts on the Consequences of the Shifting Bases of Power of the 'Curaca de los Viejos Antiguos' under the Spanish in Sixteenth- Century Peru", Hispanic American Historical Review, 67, 4, (November 1987), 575-610.

47 Francisco Poma y Altas, f 38, Duviols 187 and Don Christóbal Poma Libia, f 109, Duviols 244.

48 f 37v, Duviols 186.

49 L. Millones, "Religion and Power", 261.

50 f 37v-38, Duviols 186-187.

51 f 38, Duviols 187.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid.

54 f 41v, Duviols 192.
Father Pablo José de Arriaga (1621) seems to have been somewhat baffled by a similar game called "pisca" (pishga of pichca - meaning five). He wrote:

> It is played with little sticks with stripes. I do not believe there is any mysterious reason for this but that it is used to beguile their sleepiness. 56.

55 f 109, Duviols 244.

56 Lorenzo Huertas Vallejos, 31, uses "camachico" and "kuraka" interchangeably. The camachico of Hacas at the time of the visita of Noboa, Don Christóbal Poma Libia, is called a "kuraka" on a few occasions in the visita records.

57 M. Eliade, Shaminism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy, W.R. Trask (tr.), (Princeton, 1972), 8.

58 L. Huertas Vallejos; L. Millones, Historia y poder, 233-248; "La Religión Indígena"; and M. Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, Estructuras andinas.

59 Christóbal Poma Libia, f 109v, Duviols 245; Miguel Sánchez, f 81v, Duviols 234. See Sir C.R. Markham, Vocabularies, 48.

60 His role, and that of the other principales, in ordering the collection of offerings is noted by Hernando Hacas Poma, f 10v-11, Duviols 146; Hernando Chaupis Condor f 17, Duviols 156; Christóbal Hacas Malqui, f 24v, Duviols 166; Andrés Guaman Pilpi, f 30v, Duviols 175; Ynes Julca Colque, f 32v, Duviols 178; Francisco Poma y Altas, f 39, Duviols 189; Juan Raura, f 41, Duviols 192; Pedro Caico, f 44, Duviols 196; Alonso Quispi Guaman, f 46v, Duviols 199; Christóbal Pampa Condor, f 61v, Duviols 221; Pedro Guaman Vilca, f

67/ Duviols 228; Miguel Sánchez, f 81v, Duviols 234; Pedro Poma Guras, f 84, Duviols 237.

61 f 10v, Duviols 146.

62 f 17, Duviols 156.

63 L. Huertas Vallejos, 36.

64 f 108, Duviols 243.

65 Ibid.

66 Ibid.

67 f 109v, Duviols 245.

68 These stars were said to protect the chacras from frost. Two other stars called chuchucoillur were said to create twins or chuchus, and the bright star of the morning, chachaguarac, was believed to create kurakas. See Christóbal Hacas Malqui, f 26, Duviols 169; Francisco Poma y Altas, f 39v, Duviols 189-190; Juan Raura, f 42, Duviols 193; Hernando Hacas Poma, f 14-14v, Duviols 151; Pedro Poma Guras, f 85, Duviols 238.

69 f 109, Duviols 245.

70 f 109v, Duviols 245-246.

71 f 37-37v, Duviols 185-186.

72 Ibid.. See discussion of the dogmatisers' messages in the next chapter.

73 Ibid.

74 Ibid.

75 Ibid.

76 Ibid.

77 f 91v, Duviols 243.

78 L. Huertas Vallejos, 36.

79 L. Huertas Vallejos, 33.

80 Hernando Poma Quillai, f 50v-51, Duviols 205-206; Domingo Quispi, f 68, Duviols 230; Juan Raura, f

40v, Duviols 191.

81 f 36v, Duviols 185.

82 f 37, Duviols 185.

83 f 53v, Duviols 209-210.

84 P.J. Arriaga, Ibid., 34-35.

85 Hernando Poma Quillai, f 51, Duviols 206 and Christóbal Pampa Condor, f 60v-61, Duviols 220.

86 f 61, Duviols 220.

87 Hernando Poma Quillai, f 51, Duviols 206 and Christóbal Pampa Condor, f 60v-61, Duviols 220.

88 H.C. Lea, Inquisition of the Middle Ages; G. Henningsen, The Witches' Advocate; and H.R. Trevor-Roper's essay, The European Witch-Craze of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, (Harmondsworth, 1967).

89 For more discussion of the "Andean witch" see I.Silverblatt, Moon, Sun, and Witches, "Dioses y diablos, and L. Millones, Los hechizos del Perú.

90 P.J. Arriaga, 184, with the spelling : "runapmicuc".

91 f 32, Duviols 178.

92 Ibid.

93 Juan Raura, f 42, Duviols 193; Ynes Julca Colque, f 34v, Duviols 182 and Pedro Guaman Vilca, f 67, Duviols 228.

94 Hernando Chaupis Condor, f 23, Duviols 164-165; Ynes Julca Colque, f 34v, Duviols 182 and Leonor Ñabin Carua, f 57v, Duviols 216.

95 Ibid.

96 Leonor Ñabin Carua, f 57v, Duviols 216 and Hernando Chaupis Condor, f 23, Duviols 164-165.

97 f 15, Duviols 153.

98 Hernando Chaupis Condor, f 23, Duviols 164-165.

99 f 15, Duviols 153: "le chupaba con la boca y unas beses sacaba culebras otras sapos quesos y otras cosas..."
The Indians of Hacas had a particular fear of the lowlands as places where they might lose their health. When they visited, they made sacrificial offerings in attempts to ensure that they would return to the village in good condition. Assuming that their fears had some basis in fact, and proceeding from what one knows of dangers to health in the selva today, much of what the seventeenth-century notary recorded as "snakes, toads, worms and other things" were probably parasitic infections. Such infection would have caused the cases of hydropsy (ydropicos or ydropesia), or "the abnormal accumulation of serous fluid in the cellular tissue or in a body cavity (belly, chest, head etc,.)", mentioned by the Indian healers. Hernando Hacas Poma, f 14v, Duviols 152 and Hernando Chauipis Condor, f 20, Duviols 160.
Dorland's Illustrated Medical Dictionary, 24th edition, (Philadelphia, 1965), 448-449. Thanks to M.J. Brown.

100 f 15, Duviols 153. Corroborating stories of Hernando Hacas Poma's healings by others include Andrés Guaman Pilpi, f 30, Duviols 174; Francisco Poma y Altas, f 38, Duviols 187; Pedro Caico, f 44, Duviols 196; Pedro Guaman Vilca, f 66v, Duviols 228, Don Christóbal Poma Libia, f 109, Duviols 245 and Domingo Tantayana, f 91v, Duviols 243. Notably, Ynes Julca Colque maintained that the offerings made outside the village were made to the aforementioned whirlwinds thought to have brought the sicknesses.

101 f 15, Duviols 153.

102 f 109, Duviols 245.
Hernando Hacas Poma, himself, called Senor Figueroa a "mestizo" as opposed to an "español". Hacas Poma detailed that he had removed a "small toad from below the man's chin" (another infection or possibly a cancerous tumour) - evidently the source of his sickness - as after this, Figueroa was said to have regained his health. f 15, Duviols 153.

103 f 42, Duviols 193.

104 Ibid.

105 Francisca Ñabin Colqui of Carampa, Ysabel Vilca Tanta of Canta, Cathalina Chaupis Maiguai of Tacas, and both Leonor Llacsa and Ynes Llacasan Tanta of the Picoca ayllu.

106 For specific attention to the roles of women in the Andean religion see I. Silverblatt, Moon, Sun, and Witches, and "Principios de organización feminina en el Tahuantinsuyu", Revista del Museo Nacional, tomo LII, (Lima, 1976), and M. Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, La Mujer en la época prehispánica, Documento de Trabajo No. 17, (Lima 1986), 12.

107 Andrés Guaman Pilpi, f 31, Duviols 176 and Ynes Julca Colque, f34-34v, Duviols 181.

108 f 15v, Duviols 153.

109 f 31, Duviols 176.

110 Christóbal Pampa Condor, f 63, Duviols 223.

111 f 34-34v, Duviols 181.

112 f 22, Duviols 163.

113 Pedro Sarmiento, f 56v, Duviols 214-215 and Francisco Poma y Altas, f 39v-40, Duviols 190.

114 Christóbal Hacas Malqui, f 25, Duviols 168 and Andrés Guaman Pilpi, f 31, Duviols 176.

115 Hernando Hacas Poma, 12v, Duviols 149 and Pedro Guaman Vilca, f 68, Duviols 229.

116 Hernando Chaupis Condor, f 22, Duviols 163.

117 f 44v-45, Duviols 197.

118 f 68, Duviols 229; also Pedro Poma Guras, f 85, Duviols 238; Ynes Julca Colque, f 34, Duviols 181 and Juan Chaupis, 87v, Duviols 247.

119 See one example, Hernando Chaupis Condor, f 19v, Duviols 159. His discussion concerns the llama conopas of Pedro Capcha Yauri.

120 Hernando Chaupis Condor, f 19, Duviols 158; Ynes Julca Colque said that, while she was not sure of the number in the herd, it appeared to be more than twenty, f 34v, Duviols 181. Pedro Guaman Vilca, in

his own testimony, f 67v, Duviols 229, claimed that

> he has ten llamas that are his own and are not for the service of the idols.

121 Hernando Chaupis Condor, f 19, Duviols 158; Ynes Julca Colque, once again, is more conservative, referring only to only the six of Hernando Hacas Poma, f 34v, Duviols 181.

122 Hernando Chaupis Condor, f 19, Duviols 158, claimed that this shepherd had thirty, but that only half of these were dedicated to "Aca". Ynes Julca Colque, f 34v, Duviols 181, claimed that he tended ten. Francisco Poma y Altas, f 37, Duviols 185, said "close to thirty", and it was he that noted the shepherd's succession.

123 Don Christóbal Poma Libia, f 63, Duviols 223.

124 Francisco Poma y Altas, f 37, Duviols 185.

125 Ibid.

126 Ibid.

IV FESTIVALS OF ORIGINS: COEXISTENCE AND THE VECOSINA

In the mid-seventeenth century, Indian religiosity could be said to have taken on the character of a collection, a complicated medley of notions and practices. Some of these had been preserved from pre-Hispanic tradition, while others represented the peoples' adaptations or alterations in the face of the dominant Christian faith. What was emerging, in a religious sense, in the Indian parishes after over a century of religious confrontation only reflected what seems to have occurred in the early colonial Andean world in a wider perspective.

Much had affected Indian society in Peru since 1532. The psychological and numerical devastation caused by military conquest and the horrific spread of disease, the imposition of new forms of forced labour, campaigns of forced resettlement and the attempted "destructuration" of the peoples' vision of themselves - despite all pronouncements and cédulas in the Indians' interest - had transformed and reoriented the indigenous world.[1] Because religion was so intimately connected to the peoples' social and economic existence, the Indians' religious universe necessarily felt the challenges and changes of the era. What the Indian religion had become by the mid-seventeenth century was, itself, a function of the

same necessity of survival.

There are four possibilities that may be considered in determining the religious state of the Andean faithful in the seventeenth century. These possibilities can either represent categories in themselves or, alternatively, elements of a religious coalescence that would vary from one individual to the next.[2] A first group can be designated the cristianos, the native Peruvian Catholics who appeared to understand and follow the precepts of the conquerors' faith. A second group may best be called the deceptive, as they were Indians who attended Mass and performed Christian rites when they deemed it necessary, but who understood which ceremonies and beliefs that they would best conceal from the parish priest. A third group, in some ways much like the second, worshipped a religion of definite syncretic character. In their religious world, Christian images and orthodox concepts would exist above, or be incorporated into, what was a recognisably non-Christian base of beliefs and observances. Fourth, would be an Indian faction - or perhaps an entire community or region - engaged in active religious resistance. At the head of this last group would usually be a body of ministers, or Indian priests, who would lead and encourage a clandestine spiritual

existence that rejected the Roman Catholic faith.

Amid what Jacques Lafaye has, in another context, aptly called a "jumble of beliefs"[3] it is primarily the latter three possibilities that most concern this discussion. Very few of the Indians of San Pedro de Hacas in the mid-seventeenth century were of the first group, cristianos. However, despite the perseverance and urgings of the indigenous religious leaders of the village, Hacas was not quite a bastion of clandestine ideological resistance either. In seventeenth-century Hacas most of the Indians felt at least the pragmatic need to attend Mass, participate in Catholic festivals and confess their Christian sins. Yet, their own distinctly indigenous worship practices were interspersed with the Christian elements that had been imposed. Other vaguely traditional rites, while they were not pure pre-Hispanic religious forms, represented post-conquest indigenous adaptation of their ways to the circumstances of clandestinity. Their religiosity defies any simple categorisation.

However, in seventeenth-century Hacas, just where the peoples' allegiances and faith were the strongest is readily ascertained. Despite the ingredients that had been degraded, altered, discarded or adapted, what the local Indian religion was - or had become - continued to be recognisable in the early colonial

environment. In their most essential presence, the ancient beliefs and connections remained potent and enduring.

The Quechua concept of mañay is perhaps the most illuminating starting point in the discussion of a local Andean world-view or religion. Mañay can mean a number of things in its widest usage: an agreement, a chain of committments, a compromise, a request, or even the idea of order in existence.[4] In the political sphere, manay can represent pacts between kingdoms, an arrangement between two villages, or simply the understanding that defines a person's traditional relationship with others in his ayllu and community. Luís Millones writes that mañay is all of these things and more simultaneously, and has in one expression "together...synthesised a great part of the Andean ideology."[5] The concept is of especial interest to one interested in fathoming the mental climate of the people of San Pedro de Hacas in the mid-seventeenth century. In this particular sense, mañay is trimmed to the role it plays in the traditional religious, as well as social and economic integration of people into their universe.[6] Life was defined in terms of a number of religious connections that had to be maintained.

This local religiosity, while arguably of constant fundamental importance to the people of Hacas, was not

the only "creed" to have affected this Andean area. Frank Salomon has recently written that a scholarly consensus on the basic outline of Andean religion might be best described as a vertical system of deities that

> ramify downward from the most cosmic or pan-Andean numina through regional gods ...to origin-shrines representing self-defined collectivities at descending levels of inclusiveness.[7]

The picture that Salomon conveys, one of vertical connectedness, is useful as one puts the religious universe of the village of Hacas in perspective. The uppermost echelons of the Andean belief system on the eve of the Spanish arrival were the Inka state cults of Inti (the sun), Quilla (the moon), and such deities as the supreme Viracocha and Pachacamac, the maker of the world. Yet early extirpators had naturally tended to focus their destruction on these most evident manifestations of the pagan faith, and by the end of the sixteenth century these cults had been all but completely eradicated.[8] While the intricacies of the process of religious replacement would have varied from one region to the next and localised versions of the worship of these higher forces did persist in some settings, there was a stronger general tendency for community and regional religion to revive in place of what had been the Inkaic synthesis.[9] Especially in remote areas such as that of Hacas, small-scale local

religious activities, perhaps at night or in secret, drew a predictably lesser measure of Spanish repression.

Those who were ideologically resistant in the early colonial years relegated their religiosity to the subterranean worship of traditional local deities, returning to a position a few cosmic layers lower, if one continues to follow Salomon's verticalised schema of Andean religion. This return would not have been a difficult one in a village such as Hacas. In lands newly incorporated into Tawantinsuyu, the Inka had, in the process of instituting such things as a state language, a system of land distribution and exaction of labour by turn, demanded adherence to the aforementioned state cults. Yet they also appear to have been rather accommodating of local wak'as and ancestor cults in their efforts at spiritual imperialism.[10] Even the actual religious implementations of the Inka, apart from their grander scale, were not radically foreign to most Andean peoples. At both levels, people shared a basic existence: the sun was the essential life-giving force, corn was a sacred staple and the ancestors and wak'as of different regions deserved respect.

Local religion in San Pedro de Hacas was made up, essentially, of the cults of the ancestors, the

peoples' origin-shrines, powers associated with the heavens and various natural phenomena such as distinctive outcroppings of rock and life-giving springs. These local manifestations of the peoples' religious beliefs had been important well before Hispanic, and - in many cases - Inkaic, times. Thus, that they continued in importance is of little surprise.

However, the question of whether the relative importance of ancestors and local wak'as had been amplified in the colonial era because the upper deities were lost is a more difficult one.[11] In seventeenth-century Hacas, visita of idolatry evidence strongly suggests that the local cult had persisted in its "ancient" ways, affected only superficially by Inka implementations, and "amplified" in its importance after the Spanish conquest only in the sense that its very existence depended on heroic and continued efforts of concealment from colonial and Church authorities.

Much of the ceremony and ritual at the local level in Hacas was related to agriculture and the peoples' sustenance. Propitiatory in their intent, the practices revealed the most essential aspect of the peoples' religion: a vital present concern with the maintenance of a favourable standing to the powers they conceived to be all around them. Examples abound.

When the chacras were to be sown each season, cuyes would be slaughtered and their blood, along with some chicha, would be sprinkled on the soil of the chacra as a special offering to the malquis for abundance.[12] When the irrigation canals were cleared of obstructions to bring water to the chacras, all of the village would attend the performance of similar ceremonies led by the ministers of idols of the ayllus.[13] The construction of a new home was performed by the relatives of one's ayllu, and was an occasion in which a minister had to be present to sacrifice cuyes, coca and llama's blood to the malquis and idols to ensure that the foundations would remain secure. The new adobe walls and straw roof would be sprinkled with chicha and the blood that they would not collapse or leak during the rainy season. The ministers always insisted that a small window face the "east of the sun" so that "out of it would leave the evil (illnesses and death) and would enter the good."[14]

Religious worship was the peoples' recognition of the necessity of sustaining the connections they had with the life-forces in their religious universe, essentially, a collective attention to the mañay of survival. To the Andean mind that had resisted Christianisation, or the process of destructuration, in the village of Hacas, the necessity of the connections

with the ancestors and wak'as of the ayllu was handed down as logic of wisdom from generation to generation. Propitious events, fortune, health and childbirth, all indicated that there was order and equilibrium in a connected universe.

While traditional religion could be said to have permeated most all activities of life in Hacas, the fact that Indian religion survived in many communities in Spanish America is a given. Indeed, a visit to some areas proves a religious and cultural continuity even to present times. But, what did this mean for the Indian in the colonial period, and thus, what does it indicate about indigenous attitudes to religious and cultural survival ? To begin to answer these queries in relation to the present discussion one must identify that which was most essential and expressive of the religious state of Hacas at the time of Noboa's visita. Thus, it is in discussion of the celebrative moments, the local fiestas, that one encounters the roots of the peoples' cultural endurance and the real dynamic of resistance in the early colonial spiritual existence. At no occasions more than the principal festivals was timeless continuity and connectedness more overtly revealed alongside the clandestinity and adaptation that had become part of observance.

The Spaniards had long recognised the centrality of

the indigenous festivals as the evil they were bent on eradicating in the Viceroyalty of Peru.[15] The Extirpation of the seventeenth century, for its part, had expressed its own regulations forbidding the Indian ceremonies. Archbishop Lobo Guerrero's synodal constitutions in 1614 had been a first step. However, in 1621, with the publication of Father Arriaga's Extirpation came the firm identification of specific dangers based on first-hand experience.

> From now on in no case nor for any reason will the Indians...whether men or women, play drums, dance, or sing and dance at a marriage or town festival, singing in their mother tongue as they have done up to now.[16]

The Jesuit recognised the indigenous festival as the prime opportunity for the indigenous flock to persist in the reconfirmation of their own beliefs and traditions, while actively turning away from the Catholic faith. The singing, dancing and playing of drums, the gatherings, community fasts, confession and absolution of wrongs among themselves, the prevalence of much chicha and drunkenness, all were noted as sure signs of the Indians' continuation of their ancient traditions.[17]

Despite Arriaga's appended invitation for subsequent visitadores and extirpators to add, subtract from, or change his regulations "in whatever way

expedient"[18], the next significant supporter of the Extirpation altered things very little with regard to the festivals. Archbishop Don Pedro de Villagómez confirmed the indigenous fiesta as a most fundamental evil in his Pastoral letter of exhortation and instruction against the idolatry of the Indians of the archbishopric of Lima in 1649.[19] The Visitador Bernardo de Noboa would have received this Carta pastoral as a major part of his instructions in 1656. He could add to its recommendations and directions his own personal experience as a priest in the mountain parish of Ticllos. Thus, when Visitador Noboa embarked once again for Cajatambo, he would have recognised the necessity of paying close attention to the Indians' mention of festivals in the course of his examinations.

* * *

Things mythical and historical endure a rather uneasy relationship. The historian's attraction to that which is written is simple enough to explain. That which is written can often have its authorship determined, and perhaps its veracity tested against other documents like it, or it can even be dismissed as naive or ill-conceived. This is not so easily done with the myth. That which has been preserved in oral tradition is fascinating, intriguing, but of what it

tells, how can one be sure ?

It has been argued convincingly by such impressive thinkers as Mircea Eliade and Claude Lévi-Strauss that, despite some obvious limitations, myths have great operational value and even a deceptive essentiality for the work of the historian.[20] Where no form of "written history" exists, it does not mean that the people were ahistorical. More specific to endeavours concerning the Andean region, eighteen years ago when John V. Murra called for scholars to "stimulate each other out of the crevices in which past isolation had kept us"[21], what he envisaged was the intelligent cooperation of a number of disciplines in the interpretation of the past. The incorporation of myth, oral tradition, and in its collected form, "oral literature", in the writing of history would be a large part of fulfilling his recommendation.

Such encouragement would indeed bear fruit. Brimming with ideas and suggestions, excellent interdisciplinary assaults joined bold earlier efforts to create a growing list of contributions by authors such as Miguel León-Portilla, Nathan Wachtel, Jacques Lafaye, David A. Brading, Victoria Reifler Bricker, María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, Nancy Farriss, Karen Spalding, Irene Silverblatt, Luís Millones, Steve J. Stern and Jan Szemiński, among others.[22] A

recurrent message is of certain relevance here - that of the unique and intrinsic importance of the myth and oral tradition in more fully understanding the indigenous societies that endured beyond the Spanish conquest.

Myth was of pertinence to local religion in seventeenth-century Peru, much as it was and is to the religions of many societies. Like Creation to the believing Christian, the Andean peoples' myths were more important than the tales of fiction or the narrative legends. A myth was a cultural story, a sacred history, or, as Bronislaw Malinowski, put it, "a warrant, a charter, and even a practical guide to the activities with which it is connected."[23] The adoption of writing, in the Judeo-Christian sense, is beside the point in discussing a peoples' definition of themselves; the "mythic creativity" is the constant in both a peoples' literature and folk memory.[24]

Most great myths have as their basis the universal human quest to come to terms with the question of their origins. The Mexican thinker and poet, Octavio Paz, has expressed this human penchant as a collective "fear of being an orphaned people" and an "obsession with legitimacy".[25] Yet, under any banner or language, defining a myth of origin, and thus a history, is part of a larger search for meaning in life, the sort of

meaning that is as universally built into the healthy and vigorous human psyche as anything there is. Myth and history are both manifestations of the same thing: a peoples' definition and articulation of themselves. The myth's own ambiguities and the possibilities of its fluctuation over time - the very things that cause the trepidation of the traditional student of history - can alternatively be recognised as the elements that perhaps impart to it its greatest value: a more timeless and all-embracing wisdom. As Paz wrote, it seems dually true that

> each historical situation is unique and each is the metaphor of that universal fact that consists in the fact of being men.[26]

The preservation and ritual remembering of the myths of their origins and the deeds of their forefathers played an active role in the religious existence of the people of San Pedro de Hacas in the seventeenth century. The rhythms of daily life, themselves, reiterated what Millones has aptly dubbed the "suspended existence" of the ancestors and the people's strong sense of a "prevailing past" in the present world.[27] However, two commemorative occasions in Hacas seem to have served the people as the best affirmation of the community's continuity from its past. These were the ritual retelling and celebration of origins, and the colonial version of the

traditional ceremony of the Vecosina. At these times, the peoples' myths regained life; through celebration and reenactment the villagers revitalised their existence. The festivals were the community's periodic reinforcement or regeneration of their own history, and furnish powerful examples of these colonial Andeans' active resistance to colonial impositions through their continued consciousness of the necessity of the union of their past with the validity of their daily life.[28]

The first type of indigenous celebration was based on the tradiciones or sacred histories that were told by the people of Hacas in explanation of how the world around them had come into being. As such, they were neither cosmogonic myths of the beginning of time, nor were they strictly narrative accounts of their forefathers' triumphs and failures. Instead, the tradiciones of Hacas seem to have treated the mythic ancestors primarily as points of reference. Accuracy was of less importance than significance. These cultural heroes' consequence was in their relevance to the peoples' present existence. Thus, events that were believed to have marked the beginning of the traditional forms of social organisation, that had been the origin of certain institutions and practices, or that had imparted some feature to community life, were

the material recounted in the tradiciones. The origin myths had their footing in the ethnic history of the region of Hacas.

In 1621, Arriaga, in his Extirpation, had told of the Indians' recognition of two distinct ethnic groups or moieties in the mountain villages of the Archdiocese of Lima. These were the Huaris and Llacuases. The Huaris, wrote the Jesuit, were people "native to the town of the ancestors [the old towns before reducciones] and who have no recollection of having come from outside."[29] The people distinguished as Llacuases were portrayed as more recent arrivals, according to Pierre Duviols they were "the migrants, conquerors, the newcomers (advenedizos)."[30] Arriaga said that in a village their number included "all those whose fathers and ancestors were born elsewhere."[31] The people of Hacas and the surrounding area of Cajatambo articulated the beginnings and development of their ayllus and community in relation to these same two pre-Hispanic groups.

In spite of some assistance by archaeology to the matter, it is difficult to put the Huari and Llacuaz origins in an exact time frame.[32] Still, based on what can be gleaned from a range of Indian accounts, the general historical framework for the period suggested by Lorenzo Huertas Vallejos seems

helpful.[33] A first period is designated as chaos, a time of much disorder and constant warfare between the region's peoples before the arrival of the cultural founders. With the appearance of the Huaris in the area, the second period began. They were said to be the children of the sun, and were usually depicted as having been created in Lake Titicaca or the sea.[34] They were the orderers and arrangers of the world, and were said to have brought much change for the better. They brought people together into urban settings (and were sometimes called llacta from llactayoc which means the inhabitant of a community [35]), constructed irrigation canals, built terraces to maximise the available land for cultivation, and were said to have borne a new civilising ideology to the Andean world.[36]

The time of Huari dominance is said to have been interrupted by their conquest by a fierce highland group, the worshippers of Libiac (lightning and thunder), the Llacuases. The Huaris, however, were allowed to continue to live in their communities. This initiated the third period of Huertas Vallejos's historical sketch, the coexistence. The Llacuaz were the austere people of the puna, skilled shepherds and warriors, portrayed by the tradiciones as a people "joined to the sky."[37] Rebirth, and beginning in this

region in the second half of the fifteenth century, was the period dominated by the Inka, worshippers of Inti, the sun, and the lords of Tawantinsuyu that had expanded quickly at this time from the south-central Andean capital of Cusco.

During the Inka period, as has been alluded to on a broader scale above, the constituent peoples of Tawantinsuyu seem to have enjoyed a considerable measure of cultural continuity from pre-Inkaic times. Cajatambinos, thus, continued to nurture the loyalties and tradiciones of their respective Huari and Llacuaz ancestors. The records of Noboa's visita to Hacas in 1657 reveal that many of these same tradiciones and, certainly, the "ancient" Huari-Llacuaz distinctions, were very much alive over a century after the Spaniards' defeat of the Inka.

Try as one might, one does not learn, however, of exactly which Indians in the village in 1657 traced their lineage to the respective groups. By educated guesswork it is tempting to suppose that villagers frequently noted as worshipping agriculturally-oriented deities were Huaris, and those associated with the cult of the heavens and lightning, Llacuases. Yet this cannot be conclusive in the early colonial era. Very few people were quite as explicit as the witnesses Juan Acora of the Three Ayllu or the village's cacachito,

Don Christóbal Poma Libia. Raura testified that when the rains were too intense he, with others of his ayllu, made offerings to Libiac that the water would not ruin the chacras. Don Christóbal of the Chaca ayllu, whose one surname Libia indicated a relationship to Llacuaz ancestry, stated that all those of Chaca, Yanaqui, Picoca ayllus and half of the Canta ayllu were Llacuases.[38] Though inferences do exist, and names like Poma Libia at times indicate descent, one does not acquire much specification from other testimonies.

If the different ayllus of Hacas had at one time been distinctly either Huari or Llacuaz, by the mid-seventeenth century this appears to have no longer been the case and the two groups, as had occurred with many of the ayllus, were mixed. Christóbal Hacas Malqui said that the Quirca ayllu was of this "mixed" type, made up of many "pihos", which the Spanish notary interestingly described as "like mestizo Indians, Llacuases and Huaris mixed up (revueltos)."[39] Alonso Quispi Guaman volunteered that in all six of the main ayllus of Hacas there were both Huari and Llacuaz Indians, but that despite this intermingling the distinctions still meant something in the village as "the Huaris worship the sun and the Llacuases, the lightning and thunder."[40] Ancestors were designated either Huari or Llacuaz, even if in the seventeenth

century they were worshipped by all in the community.

Commemoration of Huari and Llacuaz ancestry in Hacas reflected the confederative nature of this community. While distinctions were maintained, many cults and festivities were shared. The Llacuaz ancestors of the village were often said to have had some relationship to Libiac himself, and were frequently associated, as was noted by the witness Raura above, with rainfall and meteorological phenomena. This was also the case with two Llacuaz brother malquis named Tumarchin and Michuchin Libiao.[41] Don Christóbal Poma Libia told of an idol named Colque Yanac, who was said to be the child of Libiac, and who received regular offerings of cuyes, llamas and coca that sufficient rain would come.[42]

The worship of the Huari founding ancestors - primarily agriculturalists associated with the sun - seems to have been most widely practised, reflecting the agrarian base of the community's existence. While many of the occasions that saw observances directed towards these malquis and idols may not seem to represent festivals in comparison with some other instances to be described below, the fact that people came together with the purpose of collectively carrrying out customary rites and ceremonies at specified times merits a slight stretching of the term

and does permit their discussion here.

Many Huari founders were believed to be represented - in petrified form - by large stones called huancas (or guancas). The souls of dead ancestors were believed to enter these huancas at will, continuing to act as guardians and protectors of certain fertile lands or sites close to where they were situated. Huari huancas commemorated ancestors believed to have been responsible for a special crop, an agricultural technique, or the initial preparation and cultivation of an important piece of land still in use.[43]

One such huanca revealed by Hernando Chaupis Condor during examination was said to be of common significance to all the people of Hacas. This was Colcapampa, reputed to be the creator of the sacred asao maize used to make the chicha for offerings and the major festivals.[44] Juan Raura concurred, and detailed that before the sowing of these special chacras, all of the Indians would contribute offerings of cuyes, coca, fat and other things to be burnt at a village sacrifice in honour of this great ancestor.[45] The ritual act, conducted before the soil of these chacras was prepared for planting, commemorated Colcapampa's contribution in hopes that the ancestor, who still watched over these fields, would allow for an abundant crop.

Other Huari founders lived on in the collective memory of the village of Hacas due to brilliant deeds or actions similar to Colcapampa's that they had performed that were said to have profoundly affected the community. Often, the myths of the ancestors gained additional authority and legitimacy through remnants of the great acts that were said to be evident in certain natural phenomena or objects in the physical setting around the village. Such was the case with an important founder in Hacas, an ancient Indian named Capabilca. Two tradiciones exemplify his significance.

Hernando Chaupis Condor related to the visitador in 1657 that he and his companion, Alonso Chaupis the blind, frequently presided over the community's ceremonial worship of the aforementioned Capabilca. One of the reasons for this idol's significance stemmed from the protection he was said to have afforded the Tacas ayllu when he was alive.[46] According to Chaupis Condor, those of the Tacas ayllu told a tradición of a great snake "like a serpent" called Guayaura, which had once caused great destruction in the area. Apparently, he was of great size and travelled underground, upsetting hills and mountains as he moved. His most loathsome characteristic, however, was that he was consuming and tearing to pieces (comiendo y despedazando) the Indians of the Tacas

ayllu. A minister of idols in the ayllu, whose name the witness could not remember, was said to have begged Capabilca to "free them from this evil". The hero responded to the call by turning the giant snake Guayaura to stone. The event was commemorated to that day, Chaupis Condor concluded, with "the snake that is today a great stone" being worshipped regularly by the people.[47]

A tradición that Christóbal Hacas Malqui claimed was preserved by the Quirca and Canta ayllus is perhaps the best example of these myths' regard for the origin of a universal "wisdom" or wider rule of existence over defined historicity. This story told of a great confrontation upon the arrival in the region of two ancient founders, Corcuicallan and the aforementioned Capabilca.[48] Both were said to have come from the lowlands (los llanos), and thus the ocean origin of the Huaris. Capabilca was said to have entered the area after Corcuicallan, and upon his arrival, had begun assuming for himself the chacras that Corcuicallan had under cultivation. There ensued what seems to have been a most chivalric contest to establish supremacy.

In competition, Corcuicallan is said to have begun by demonstrating his ability to transform himself into a number of different things, the most impressive of which was a pool of blood. Each instance -- evidently

giants - were said to have been able to affect the living environment around them and caused the "bare rocks of the bodies of mountains" where they passed, to open up, creating streets that could be seen to that day in the old town of the Quirca ayllu. Because both were showing such remarkable abilities and were equally brave, the witness Hacas Malqui continued, they were said to have announced: "We will see which of us has the greater power to create springs."

Corcuicallan proceeded to urinate in two separate places, leaving the springs that the Indians called Ocupuquio and Cucupuquio, the pools that still provided water for the chacras of the Quirca ayllu. Not to be outdone, the ancient Capabilca was said to have urinated in three places, creating the three existing pools, Ucupampa, Colcacocha and Muchacpuquio. In the end, determining a winner was seen as futile. A fascinating comment on the philosophy of confidence and power, as well as being a lasting myth that explained some of the origins of natural things that affected their immediate world, the Indians' tradición ends thus:

> The idols, realising and knowing fully the power and wisdom that they possessed, became friends, and they shared the chacras between them. When they died they both changed to stone, and the people of the Ayllu have worshipped [illegible] ever always.[49]

While in actual historical times, the arrival of newcomers, such as different Huari groups or the Llacuaz peoples, to the area of Hacas might well have meant war and a brutal struggle for dominance, these were not the things recounted by this myth. Instead, the story told of a mañay, an mutual agreement reached, and the origins of the coexistence of the different groups in the community. Even the indigenous festival that seemed to most directly commemorate the Llacuaz conquest of the Huaris in the village dealt less with the symbolic reenactment of Llacuaz triumph and Huari subjugation than with what had come later.

Each year, apparently around the time of the Catholic Festival of Corpus Christi, the Indians of the village celebrated the fiesta that was most commemorative of their origins.[50] According to the witnesses who provided the most detail of this affair, its initial phases involved the participation of the Llacuases in the community. These Indians would fast for five days to purify themselves and show their continued reverence for Libiac.[51] At the end of the fast, offerings would be made to the thunder and lightning and the Llacuases of Hacas would ascend to the puna for their ritual hunt of guanacos, tarucas and deer. The annual hunt was a symbolic reflection of their origins as a hunting and pastoral people of the

puna. When they returned to the village with their prey "the men danced in the pagan way (a su modo gentílico)[52]" in preparation for the festival to be held with the others.

The Huaris remained in Hacas all this time preparing for the festival, symbolically sedentary and community-oriented. Andrés Guaman Pilpi declared that the Huaris would go out to meet the Llacuases at their triumphant entry, and would "receive them with much chicha and dancing."[53] A particular dance that the Huaris would perform at this time was accompanied by the music from a wind instrument made from the skull of a guanaco that the Indians called a succha.[54] The Llacuases, having fasted, sacrificed and hunted in the name of Libiac, made way for the Huaris, who at this point, were said to have made offerings of cuyes, coca and fat to the lord of the the day, Punchao, the sun in its daytime aspect.[55] Christóbal Hacas Malqui stated that once the distinct group observances had been finished, the people came together as a traditional community, the Llacuaz to

> share the meat of the hunt with the Huari Indians, who [would] share in return, maize, potatoes and chicha with the Llacuases.[56]

The symbolic reènforcement of the origins of their

of their tamborsillos. According to the same Hacas Malqui, the revelry would continue as long as the chicha lasted.[57]

* * *

Attentive to origins as well, one of the most interesting of the religious festivals held in Hacas in the mid-seventeenth century was that of the Vecosina. In its fundamental sense it was a time set aside expressly for the performance of the traditional dances and songs in commemoration of the peoples' ancestors and their histories. This was as important as it was useful for the chief ministers of idols in the village. Hacas Poma, Chaupis Condor and the others, by their actions, clearly recognised the value of encouraging this sense of the past in the people under their spiritual sway. As Huertas Vallejos has stated, throughout early colonial Cajatambo, indigenous festivities such as the Vecosina that fostered a regeneration of the peoples' past were undoubtedly "one of the methods used by the indigenous leaders to maintain or force their own world view."[58] And yet, in noting this festival's concern for the ancestors and its demonstration of a cultural survival encouraged by

clandestine religion in Hacas at this time.

In another sense it was very much an observance that had clearly adapted to the circumstances of clandestinity under Spanish and Christian domination. As such, traditional practice seems to have taken on an active and directly counter-Catholic flavour. As Dr. Avila had discovered so momentously about a half century earlier about the Feast of the Assumption in Huarochirí, in Hacas in 1657, Noboa and his retinue were confronted with the distinct possibility that many of the Catholic festivals were important to the Indian parishioners mostly in the sense that they served as a sufficiently pious cover for their own religious activities. Alternatively, on these feast days perhaps the Indians were incorporating elements of Christian worship into their own religious context.

The festivals that the Church designated "Festa chori et fori", or those which lay people were obligated to observe, at very least, by attendance at Mass and by refraining from labour, were the ones that provided the most opportunity for the underlying Indian practices of worship.[59] The Festival of St. Peter (c. 29 June) was the occasion that most of the Indians confessed would coincide with their own Vecosina.[60]

suitable times.

It is possible that Noboa, after having uncovered a number of testimonies telling of idolatrous practices in association with the Festival of St. Peter, might have directed his questions with this in mind, and thus, directed his witnesses' confessions to this occasion. Other random mentions support this possibility. The Festival of Corpus Christi, for example, is noted as well. Christóbal Hacas Malqui adds that indigenous religious activity occurred "when any festival was held, the Holy Sacrament, Easter or Christmas."[61] Andrés Guaman Pilpi also noted similar behaviour in the village in conjunction with Easter.[62] In any event, indigenous preparations began a few days before the respective Catholic festival was to occur; the indigenous priesthood and many village elders made it clear that it was vitally important that all things were right in the universe before the festivities began.

It was most commonly revealed, in the case of the Festival of St. Peter, that five or six days before the festival was to take place the Indians were in the custom of making offerings of cuyes, the blood of llamas, chicha and coca to the malquis and idols in order to ask their permission to participate in the

to the rotating positions of stewards and standard-bearers of the image of the saint (alferes, pendoneros and mayordomos) would collect the offerings and take them to the ministers of idols.[63] Led by Hernando Hacas Poma, the ministers would then proceed with their assistants and the offerings to the old towns (traditional settlements) of their respective ayllus, where the sacrifices would be made to the malquis of the machayes. In secret, the ministers would communicate with the ancestors, first asking for permission to attend the Catholic festivities to be held in the plaza, and second, asking that the malquis not be angered by the peoples' wish to participate.[64] The nature of this request can be interpreted in either of two ways.

Perhaps, the seeking of permission and the preparations had a shrewd pragmatic side. For the sake of appearance, and to appease the degree of concern that the parish priest may have had for their embrace of orthodoxy, the Indians would have known that their attendance at the festivals was necessary. Attendance may have been enough to allay the priest's suspicions, or perhaps sooth his knowledge of their true loyalties to keep him quiet. However, on the other hand, it is possible that the Indians sought their malquis' consent for what was a completely adapted aspect of their

observance: the incorporation of Catholic festival, and indeed the Catholic saint, into their own religious rituals. In either case, the Indians protected the survival of their own forbidden practices that would undoubtedly be sought out if there was too much indication of their pursuance of a wayward path. Religiously, the preparations were an adapted affirmation of traditional connections, the peoples way of showing their jealous malquis and wak'as that, despite appearances, it was to them that the villagers owed their first respect and not to the saints of the Roman Catholic Church.[65]

There exists some discrepancy in the testimonies concerning exactly from whom the impetus came to perform these preparatory offerings and requests for permission. In specific relation to the Vecosina, this continues discussion of the political power structure within the village alluded to in the preceding chapter. While Visitador Noboa's exploitation of the currents of inter-village rivalry and animosity undoubtedly often worked to his advantage in gaining information, there was a danger as well. When the accusations and counter-accusations of instigation of clandestine Indian festival preparations began to fly, the fruit of the hysteria, the testimonies, at times appear to have

contained about as much vengeance as truth.

Hernando Hacas Poma and Hernando Chaupis Condor, both chief ministers of their ayllus, claimed that they had killed llamas and offered sacrifices to the malquis and idols to ask their favour and permission to attend Catholic festivals on the expressed order of the camachico of Hacas, Don Christóbal Poma Libia.[66] Poma Libia, himself, however, claimed that the command for the collection of offerings for this purpose had come from the religious maestro of the village, Hernando Hacas Poma. The camachico even added a personal anecdote to further substantiate his allegation, telling of the time when he himself had been a standard-bearer at the Festival of St. Peter and had been commanded to begin these preparations.[67]

Almost as a general rule, the visitadores of idolatry would view the chief ministers of the Indian villages as the most cunning and deceitful. On the other hand, as could be readily proved by the sentences eventually handed down to individuals (see discussion below), Visitador Bernardo de Noboa and others like him tended to believe the testimonies of the Indians who showed the most deference to the aims of the visita and who supplied the examination with the most new information. These people were the very opening wedges that Father Arriaga's treatise had recommended the

agents of the Extirpation find.[68] In this regard, the camachico of Hacas, the intermediary, was one of their men.

Don Christóbal Poma Libia, as has been discussed, regardless of the nature of his own position and level of compliance with Indian practices, was quite prepared to transfer the blame of instigation onto others, and particularly onto such likely culprits as Hacas Poma and Chaupis Condor. Don Christóbal's accusations were bolstered, in this case, by another principal, Domingo Tantayana, who also seems to have been held in unusually high esteem by visita officials.[69] Yet another, Miguel Sánchez, who appears to have been somewhat of an outsider in the village and, who, the notary recorded, spoke some Spanish and had been some time in the plains, also accused the chief priests of instigating the clandestine preparations.[70]

Notably, Sánchez, and another witness, an ex-alcalde of the cabildo, Pedro Poma Guras, who concurred with Poma Libia and Sánchez [71], were examined on 21 April 1657, almost three months after the majority of the Indians. It is highly likely that, by this time, a combination of factors had been at work that were exacerbated by the tension that undoubtedly built among the Indians the longer the visita of idolatry retained its presence in the village. An

accusation such as Poma Libia's, which shifted the bulk of the blame onto the chief priests of the village - men such as Hacas Poma who were already bound to be condemned - would have been rather appealing to Indians like Miguel Sánchez and Pedro Poma Guras who may have seen the opportunity of escaping from the examination of the visita of idolatry virtually unscathed.

Regardless of the camachico's and principales' complicity and where the "guilt" of impetus was eventually assigned, the indigenous transformation of the Catholic festival into an occasion for their own purposes proceeded. A vivid image recurrently evoked by the testimonies is that of the scene in the main plaza of Hacas on the day of the Festival of St. Peter. While around the plaza would have been all the most potent symbols of Spanish and Christian authority, the office of the cabildo and the cathedral, and though the plaza was to be the site of the procession of the saint and of a pious gathering, from all descriptions, on this day the plaza unmistakably belonged to the Indians.

Domingo Rimachin, an Indian of the neighbouring village of Pimachi was another of the Spaniards' wedges, a frequent traveller, who could provide information on Indians in a number of the communities in the region. Attempting to endear himself to the

visitador, he had begun his testimony before Noboa by saying that he had acquired

> the fear of God and...had withdrawn from association with the idolaters in the towns such as San Pedro de Hacas, San Juan de Machaca and Santiago de Chilcas[72]

On past festival days, he told the visitador that he had often been among the people of Hacas in the celebration that always ensued in the main plaza. Present, he said, were the people he knew were the hechiceros and ministers of idols, and while he said he talked with them, he claimed he could not remember their their names. He said the Indians would sit together in various groups and drink the chicha they had made for this occasion. Before their first drinks, however, he related that the Indians were in the custom of pouring out small portions of their chicha to the earth, along with some coca leaves, which, he said, was the way "they worshipped their idols."[73]

With the spilling of a little chicha to the earth in the plaza, the Indians reminded themselves and their malquis of their true allegiance. Andrés Guaman Pilpi said further that as the chicha was poured the Indians would whisper in their language:

> Yaya malqui cuna, yaya punchau cama, upiaiac, [or] Lord malquis and Father Sun, Creator, drink first this chicha.[74]

In addition to providing the Indians with an opportunity to demonstrate their religious allegiances

at the same time as they feigned participation in an orthodox Catholic observance, the festivals of general obligation also provided the Indians with a rest from their labours. As such, and as has been alluded to, the officially Catholic affairs took on the festive character of many of the other purely indigenous festivals. Andrés Guaman Pilpi admitted to the visitador that, the Indians, in addition to their asking of the malquis' permission to partake in the festival of the saint, also invoked them that during it "they not lack chicha for all those who are invited."[75] Christóbal Pampa Condor, one of the principales of Hacas less given to denying his participation, concurred with this festive preoccupation, and even adds that a request was made that food also be in abundance for those who came to the plaza to celebrate.[76] Yet, as action moved from the plaza and the daytime activities, the Indians' manipulation of the whole affair only became more radical and thus, complete.

At nightfall on the day of the Catholic festival, the Indians would perform the actual rite of the Vecosina. According to Christóbal Pampa Condor, the Indians would proceed, led by their ministers and the elder women of their ayllus, "in groups and factions, singing and playing their tamborsillos through all the

streets."[77] The singers, related the chief priest Hacas Poma, performed

> the songs and taquis [music and dancing] in their own language and of their ancient custom, recalling the histories and ancient myths (antiguallas) of their malquis and huacas (wak'as).[78]

One night the Vecosina was said to have raised the ire of a parish priest, Father Ignacio de Ozerín, who, having been awoken by the noise the Indians were making in the streets with their drums and voices, had caught all of the people that he could and punished them the following morning.[79] It is not clear, though, whether the priest was angered by the noise or by the religious significance of the event. Depending on the zealousness and attitude of a given local priest, one would suspect that when a visitador was not around, under the guise of the "general festiveness" of the day, the Indians of a village such as Hacas may usually have proceeded with their traditional Vecosina undisturbed but for the necessary adaptations to clandestinity.

Knowing well enough that the Spaniards would condemn their ritual and dance as evil, what had once been a large open festival [80] was reduced to smaller groups moving at night and meeting in individual homes. The singing of the myths of the ancestors would have been in Quechua, probably at a high pitch and full

speed, and though many Catholic priests or friars would probably have had more than a vague idea of what was going on, the exact contents would have been barely audible to even the most trained of non-Indian ears. The nature of the rite observed on the very night of the Catholic festival must have intensified the meaning of the Vecosina to the ideologically resistant Andean in the early colonial era. The Indians' rhythmic procession, their reechoing of the ancient ballads, was an inward thing, done in relative private, for themselves, to "regenerate" their own beginnings and to maintain their identity in the living world.

From their dancing and singing in the streets, the revellers would converge on the homes of the Indians who had been appointed that year as the standard-bearers of the Catholic saint. Perhaps the choice of these individuals' homes for the celebrations were perceived as part of a cleansing process of these persons who had been involved in the actual act of carrying the Catholic saint. Once there, by most accounts collected by Noboa's examination, the Indians would spend the night in celebration, drinking together and engaging in a competition of wakefulness until dawn. Being able to maintain this vigil was greatly respected and taken as a sign from the ancestors and deities that one had worshipped correctly and

faithfully, and that one could expect good fortune in the future. It was quite the opposite message if one had failed. Reported Ynes Julca Colque,

> if any group or faction falls asleep they lose, and as such are dishonoured as not having known how to worship their idols and malquis.[81]

From the perspective of the extirpators, perhaps the most sacreligious aspect of the ritual that had come to be associated with the Vecosina came in the detailed additions to the description of the vigil by three of the later witnesses to appear before Noboa.

In connection with the Festival of St. Peter, it was related that the standard-bearers and the ministers of idols would take the image of the saint to the home of one of the festival officials, where, to use the words of Pedro Poma Guras's testimony,

> all night the old hechiceros drank and carried on, and before the standard (estandarte) they poured chicha and coca in offering to the malquis and idols, saying that it was for them that they celebrated this festival and not the saints.[82]

Miguel Sánchez stressed the fact that the offerings were made "in front of the said standard" and that the activities were all conducted in the "presence" of the saint. Juan Chaupis concurred exactly.[83]

Such alleged actions would, of course, have marked the height of irreverence and profanity to the ears of seventeenth-century Spanish Catholics. The notary

recorded it as such. However, from the Indians' point of view, the reason for the image's presence, and the nature of the activity around it, are not as readily determined. It is conceivable that these practices represented the ultimate in the expression of their allegiance to their malquis and wak'as: the performance of traditional offerings in the very presence of so potent a symbol of the intruders' religion. And yet, it is also possible that the offerings made before the saint were in blessing of the image that they had both carried in procession and, in effect, incorporated into the celebration of their Vecosina. Because of lack of substantiation by other witnesses, the problems with assessing the veracity of these tantalising details must be considered.

One wonders why no other Indian witnesses except these later three mentioned what the Spaniards interpreted as the ritual pollution of the sacredness of St. Peter's image. Perhaps the vast majority of the villagers had withheld confession of this particular detail in fearful appreciation of the degree of offense this would provoke in the visitador. On the other hand, perhaps the imperfections in the inquisitorial collection of evidence had contributed to the embellishment of some details. Conspicuous outsiders, such as Sánchez appears to have been, may have unveiled

a harboured hatred when it came time to testify and added this detail. Noboa's line of questioning may have been different in April than it had been in January of 1657, or, to repeat a possibility noted above, the later witnesses, eager to appear most cooperative in the hopes of escaping reprisal, may have given assent and detail to all they thought the visitador wanted to hear.

In the end, as the visita tallied its voluminous records, to the contemporary officials of the Extirpation in Hacas in 1657, the alleged profanation of the image of a saint would have been to them just another odious detail in the whole account of the mockery that the Vecosina and its related rituals were making of the Catholic festivals in this community. In a larger sense, to Archbishop Villagómez and those in the official Church in Peru who supported the use of coercion in the treatment of the "idolatrous evil", such details confirmed an apprehension already held concerning the gravity of the religious situation in the remote Indian parishes.

An examination of details in the combination of the Huari-Llacuaz commemorations and the Vecosina in conjunction with the Catholic festivals reveals the difficulty - and likely the impossibility - of fitting the people of seventeenth-century Hacas into any one of

the four religious categories suggested at the opening of this section. Renewing tradition and ethnic loyalties remained an integral part of religious life, but a dominant Catholic faith in the land in addition to their own beliefs was the reality. While it was clear that much of the imposed doctrine had been rejected by most in Hacas, it is not so certain that certain elements - the saint, the gathering in the plaza for the procession - had not been absorbed into an emerging and adapting early colonial Indian spirituality.

Though these festivals could be said to have formed a solid basis for the clandestine spiritual existence in San Pedro de Hacas in the mid-seventeenth century, celebrations in commemoration of ethnic and mythical origins, or those that expressed an allegiance to traditional religious forces despite the mingling with Catholic impositions, were only facets of the whole. The Indians' own religious calendar, though markedly reduced in its days of significance from pre-Hispanic times, was still an important arbiter of indigenous life in early colonial Hacas. Consideration of two of the more important of these periodic festivals, the Pocoimita and Caruamita, rounds out this discussion's treatment of the spiritual existence in the village at the time of Noboa's visita and provides a summary

glimpse at a few of the salient rhythms of the village's traditional religious cycle.

CHAPTER IV NOTES :

1 Karen Spalding's portrayal of a peoples' "vision of themselves and their society" is a useful one, with this being

> a system of shared values and practises through which people explain their world to themselves and give themselves an explanation or rationale for the inexplicable events of daily life-illness, defeat, or accident.

K. Spalding, Huarochirí, 239.

The concept of "destructuration" is Nathan Wachtel's. The Vision of the Vanquished, 136-137.

2 Assigning a number of possibilities is arbitrary. In an interesting recent piece of work Jan Szemiński explains three other potential categories in the eighteenth century.
J. Szemiński, "Why Kill the Spaniard? New Perspectives on Andean Insurrectionary Ideology in the 18th Century" in S.J. Stern (ed.), Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness, 166-192.

3 J. Lafaye, 18.

4 L. Millones, Historia y poder.
The beginning of my understanding of this concept also stems from a particular discussion with the author in Austin, Texas in October, 1987.

5 Ibid., 173.

6 Ibid., 174.

7 F. Salomon, in S.J. Stern (ed.), Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness, 158.

8 G. Cock and M.E. Doyle, "Del culto solar a la clandestinidad de Inti y Punchao", Historia y cultura, 12, (Lima, 1979), 51-73.
On Viracocha see: El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru, Harold V. Livermore (tr.), (Austin, 1966), (1609 Spanish original), Book I, 2, ii, 70-72; and P. Duviols, "Los nombres quechua de Viracocha, supuesto 'Dios Creador' de los evangelizadores, Allpanchis, X,(Cusco, 1977), 53-64.

9 L. Millones, Historia y poder, 222. See among others, M. Marzal, "Una hipotesis sobre la aculturacion religiosa andina", Revista de la Universidad Católica, 2, (Lima, 1977), 95-131.

10 See further discussion below.

11 That they had been "amplified" is Frank Salomon's contention based on his evidence from the 1750s in Andagua, Arequipa. F. Salomon, in S.J. Stern, Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness, 159.

12 Andrés Guaman Pilpi, f 39-31v, Duviols 175-177; Hernando Hacas Poma, f 12, Duviols 148; Christóbal Hacas Malqui, f 25, Duviols 168; Ynes Julca Colque, f 34, Duviols 181; Hernando Poma Quillai, f 53, Duviols 209; Pedro Sarmiento f 56, Duviols 214; Leonor Nabin Colqui, f 57v, Duviols 216; Domingo Ribera, f 58, Duviols 217; Bartolomé Chuchu Condor, f 63v, Duviols 224; Pedro Guaman Vilca, f 67v, Duviols 229; Miguel Sánchez, f 82v, Duviols 235; Pedro Poma Guras, f 85, Duviols 238; Juan Chaupis, f 35, Duviols 241.

13 Francisco Poma y Altas, f 35, Duviols 182; Hernando Hacas Poma, f 12, Duviols 209; Hernando Poma Quillai, f 53, Duviols 209; Miguel Sánchez, f 82v, Duviols 235; Pedro Poma Guras f 85, Duviols 238. See also mentions made on occasion of discussions of chacra offerings in note 12 above.

14 Hernando Chaupis Condor, f 20v, Duviols 160-161; See also Andrés Guaman Pilpi, f 31-31v, Duviols 177; Juan Raura, f 42v, Duviols 194; Alonso Quispi Guaman, f 48v, Duviols 203; Hernando Poma Quillai, f 52v, Duviols 208-209; Pedro Sarmiento, f 56-56v, Duviols 214; Domingo Tantayana, f 91, Duviols 243.

15 See the accounts of Cristóbal de Molina and Juan Polo de Ondegardo in Sir C.R. Markham (ed.), Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas, (New York, 1878).

16 P.J. Arriaga, 170.

17 Ibid., 170-173.

18 Ibid., 173.

19 P. Duviols, Cultura andina, XXXIII.

20 See particularly by M. Eliade, The Myth of the Eternal Return, or Cosmos and History, W.R. Trask (tr.), (Princeton, 1971), Myth and Reality, (New York, 1963), and by C. Lévi-Strauss, "The structural study of myth" in C. Lévi-Strauss (ed.), Structural Anthropology, (New York, 1963), 206-231, The Savage Mind, (Chicago, 1966) and The Raw and the Cooked: Introduction to a Science of Mythology, (New York, 1969).

21 J.V. Murra, "Current Research and Prospects in Andean Ethnohistory", Latin American Research Review, 5, 2, (Spring 1970), 24.

22 M. León Portilla, The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico, (Boston, 1962) and El Reverso de la Conquista: relaciones aztecas, mayas e incas, (Mexico, 1964); N. Wachtel; J. Lafaye; D.A. Brading, Prophecy and Myth in Mexican History, (Cambridge, 1984); V. Reifler Bricker, The Indian Christ, the Indian King: The Historical Substrate of Maya Myth and Ritual, (Austin, 1981); M. Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, especially Estructuras andinas; L. Millones, Historia y poder; I. Silverblatt, Moon, Sun and Witches; S.J. Stern, "New Approaches", in S.J. Stern (ed.), Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness, 3-28, and J. Szemiński, in S.J. Stern (ed.), Ibid., 166-192.

23 B. Malinowski, Myth in Primitive Psychology, (Westport, 1926), 19.

24 M. Eliade, Ordeal by Labyrinth: Conversations with Claude-Henri Rocquet, (Chicago, 1982), 166.

25 O. Paz in "Foreword" to J. Lafaye, xxi. See also O. Paz, The Labyrinth of Solitude, (New York, 1961).

26 O. Paz in "Foreword", xxii.

27 L. Millones, Historia y poder, 173.

28 "Regeneration" in L. Huertas Vallejos, 92. Huertas Vallejos utilises it in the sense expressed in M. Eliade, The Myth of the Eternal Return, 49-92.

29 P.J. Arriaga, 117-118, and P. Duviols, "Huari y Llacuaz: agricultores y pastores. Un dualismo prehispánico de oposición y complementaridad", Revista del Museo Nacional, XXXIX, (Lima, 1973), 153-187.

30 P. Duviols, Cultura andina, LX

31 P.J. Arriaga, 117.

32 P. Duviols, Cultura andina, LXIV-LXV. This author makes some interesting hypotheses concerning the East-West movements of what appear to have been actual ancient Llacuaz founders, working from the efforts of Augusto Cardich, among others. See A. Cardich, "Agricultores y pastores de Lauricocha y límites superiores del cultivo", Revista del Museo Nacional, XLI, (Lima 1975) and Dos divinidades relevantes del antiguo panteón centro-andino: Yana Raman o Libiac Cancharío y Rayguana, (La Plata, 1981).

33 L. Huertas Vallejos, 94-95.

34 P. Duviols, Cultura andina, LIX.

35 Ibid.

36 L. Huertas Vallejos, 94-95.
The Huari peoples are noted in other regions besides Cajatambo: Cusco, Ayacucho and Callejón de Huaylas. See L. Lumbreras, 139-178 on Wari (Huari) and "Tiahuanaciod" Expansion in the Andes at this time.

37 P. Duviols, Cultura andina, LX.

38 Juan Raura, f 43, Duviols 195 and Christóbal Pampa Condor, f 109, Duviols 245.

39 f 25v, Duviols 168.

40 f 48v, Duviols 202-203.

41 f 28, Duviols 172.

42 f 109, Duviols 245.

43 P. Duviols, Cultura andina, LXVI.

44 Hernando Chaupis Condor, f 18v, Duviols 158.

45 Juan Raura, f 41v, Duviols 193.

46 Hernando Chaupis Condor, f 22v, Duviols 164.

47 Ibid.

48 Christóbal Hacas Malqui, f 28, Duviols 172.

49 Ibid. Hacas Malqui related that, though both of these huancas had been destroyed by the visita of Hernando de Avendaño to the village, the tradición was still told and these were still worshipped.

50 Hernando Chaupis Condor, f 20v, Duviols 161; Christóbal Hacas Malqui, f 25v, Duviols 168; Andrés Guaman Pilpi, f 31v-32; Alonso Quispi Guaman, f 48v, Duviols 202-203. This last witness, for example, notes the time as "before or after Corpus".

51 Christóbal Hacas Malqui, f 28v, Duviols 173.

52 Hernando Chaupis Condor, f 20v, Duviols 161.

53 f 31v-32, Duviols 177-178.

54 "Succha" seems to have also been the name of the dance. Hernando Chaupis Condor, f 20v, Duviols, 161; Christóbal Hacas Malqui, f 28v, Duviols 173; Andrés Guaman Pilpi, f 32, Duviols 177; Alonso Quispi Guaman, f 48v, Duviols 202. Arriaga confirms this, P.J. Arriaga, 184.

55 Hernando Chaupis Condor, f 20v, Duviols 161; Andrés Guaman Pilpi, f 32, Duviols 178; Alonso Quispi Guaman, f 48v, Duviols 202.

56 Christóbal Hacas Malqui, f 28v, Duviols 173.

57 Ibid.

58 L. Huertas Vallejos, 92.

59 J.G. Carleton, "Festivals and fasts (Christian)" in J. Hastings (ed.), Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, volume V, (Edinburgh, 1967), 852.

60 Indian "idolatry" in connection with the Festival of St. Peter is noted twenty-two separate times, and by twenty of twenty-eight witnesses.

61 f 25, Duviols 167.

62 f 31, Duviols 176.

63 Ynes Julca Colque, f 33v-34, Duviols 180-181, and Francisco Poma y Altas, f 39-39v, Duviols 189, both

note that the collection was made five or six days prior to the festival by the pendoneros. Most other testimonies are less specific.

64 Hernando Hacas Poma, f 10, Duviols 145; Hernando Chaupis Condor, f 17, Duviols 155; Christóbal Hacas Malqui, f 25, Duviols 167-168; Andres Guaman Pilpi, f 31, Duviols 176.

65 Alonso Quispi Guaman, f 47, Duviols 200; Hernando Hacas Poma, f 10, Duviols 145; Christóbal Pampa Condor, f 62, Duviols 222.

66 f 17, Duviols 155-156.

67 f 108v, Duviols 244.

68 P.J. Arriaga, 114:

> Our first goal is to win over some reasonable Indian by offering him rewards in secret and by telling him that no other living person will find out what he has said.

69 Domingo Tantayana, a festival official, claimed "Hernando Hacas Poma commanded me to bring a llama, cuyes and coca to sacrifice to the huacas (wak'as)". f 91, Duviols 243.

70 f 81v-82, Duviols 235.

71 f 84v, Duviols 237.

72 f 6, Duviols 141.

73 f 6, Duviols 142.

74 f 32, Duviols 178. The use of the little prayer is also noted by Christóbal Hacas Malqui, f 25, Duviols 167 and Hernando Chaupis Condor f 20, Duviols 160.

75 f 31, Duviols 176.

76 f 62, Duviols 222.

77 Ibid.

78 f 10, Duviols 145.

79 f 62v, Duviols 223.

80 L. Valcárcel, Historia del Perú Antiguo, tomo IV, (Lima, 1971), "Calendario religiosa", 362-366.

81 f 34, Duviols 181. See also Pedro Caico, f 44v, Duviols 197; Alonso Quispi Guaman, f 47, Duviols 200; Christóbal Pampa Condor, f 62v, Duviols 222.

82 f 81v-82, Duviols 234-235.

83 Miguel Sánchez, f 82v, Duviols 235 and Juan Chaupis, f 86v-87, Duviols 240.

V FESTIVALS OF REGENERATION : THE SEMI-ANNUAL POCOIMITA AND CARUAMITA

Each year in the region of Hacas two general religious festivals called the Pocoimita and the Caruamita suspended the activities of ordinary life. Andrés Guaman Pilpi's description of the times of the festivals reveals their intimate connection with the Andean seasonal and agricultural cycle. They would occur, he explained,

> two times a year, once in January, when it begins to rain, before the Indians commence the preparation of the chacras [Pocoimita]...and the other at the time of Corpus, when the maize begins to mature...[Caruamita].[1]

Thus, at the beginning and end of the Andean cosmic and agrarian cycle, in two traditional festivals the people of Hacas would repeat the rites and ceremonies that renewed the meaning to their existence. Pocoimita and Caruamita, the respective opening and closing of the Andean cycle, represented what Mircea Eliade has called the "continuous regeneration of time", and what, for the ideologically resistant Andean of this village in the seventeenth century, seems to have become the peoples' profound "effort not to lose contact with being."[2] The world would be restored at these times: through sacrifices that reinforced the peoples' coexistence with the past, with rites of

community purification through confession and absolution of wrongs, fasting and sexual abstinence, and through listening to the wisdom and instruction of their religious leaders. The traditional logic of it was simple enough, as Miguel Sánchez related to Bernardo de Noboa; among the Indians the festivals were essential and self-perpetuating,

> the old bring the young and they make the offerings, and it is preached that if they do not...they will not have chacras, nor foods, nor goods [and] they will have to die.[3]

While the entire village observed the festivals, most of the ritual seems to have been performed separately by each ayllu.[4] In the event that colonial measures of repression and discouragement or the decline of the Indian population had left some ayllu ministries facing a crisis of numbers, during the festivals, chief priests would be shared from other ayllus. Hernando Hacas Poma, Hernando Chaupis Condor and Alonso Chaupis the blind all frequently served in this capacity for those of the depleted Picoca and LLacas ayllus. Though perhaps in a struggling condition, it is a significant point that in these traditional festivals the ayllu remained the fundamental social unit and vehicle of religious expression in the village.

Just prior to the time of the festivals, the chief

ministers of the ayllus, along with their appointed officials -sacristans and apprentices - would prepare to collect the offerings. Ynes Julca Colque told that at these times

> all the women of the village make chicha for their ayllus...the chicha they cal. "llocllo asua (asao) [from white maize]"[5]

A proclamation would be made by the camachico of the village giving notice of the coming collection of offerings the night before this was to occur.[6] This done, the ministers, Hacas Poma and the others, accompanied by their sacristans who carried the offerings, would proceed to the old towns of their respective ayllus where the idols and ancestors resided.

Beyond simply representing the sites of the traditional communities or a sacred homeland, by the mid-seventeenth century the pueblos viejos of the ayllus of Hacas had taken on a special degree of importance. The old towns were often located very near the site of the machayes or sacred cave-tombs where the mummified bodies of the peoples' ancestors were kept. The descriptions most often tell of the central parts of the old towns as small open spaces surrounded by mountain and outcroppings of rock in a location away from the village and the chacras.[7] In colonial times, when Indian religiosity was forced to operate in

secret and often at night to avoid detection, the old towns must have represented something even more than a sacred area where the ministers made offerings to the idols and malquis. They were a cultural refuge and an escape for the Indian from what must have seemed at times an oppressive Spanish-dominated world that offered the Indians nothing, yet demanded their labour, and at Mass, their religious participation. Even more than certain individuals' homes in the village where people also gathered for religious purposes, the old towns were the vital connection with their past, where in secret they could follow the precepts of the prohibited religion, tell the ancient stories, think their own ideas and be surrounded, fleetingly, with a world that made some sense.

Most of the testimonies describing the sacrificial scene in these old towns stated, as Andrés Guaman Pilpi did, that the minister, assisted by his sacristans, would "sacrifice the offerings, burning them before the malquis."[8] Cuyes were a common offering, while a llama was desired. The essential aspect of the offering was not the flesh or carcass at all, but the blood, which would be sprinkled in front of the idols and malquis in a symbolic transference, it would seem, of the "life" of the creature to the deity for some purpose. Eliade's explanation of sacrifice as a

universal religious phenomenon in close connection to agriculture is useful here. For human beings in certain societies, he has stated,

> the animal is there in the world, it is given. Whereas the food plant, the edible seed, is not given....Man creates a harvest, by his own toil and his own magic....By performing a blood sacrifice, one is projecting the energy - the "life" - of the victim into the work one wishes to create.[9]

The physical presence of the mummified ancestors on these occasions was the traditional practice [10], and in colonial times was desired, though this was not essential.

Hernando Hacas Poma, whose initial duties at the times of Pocoimita and Caruamita consisted of making sacrifices in the old town of the Chaca ayllu to the great malqui Guamancama, told the visitador of his mediation with the Other World on these occasions. Upon making the sacrifices, Hacas Poma testified that he

> would remain in a "private state" (<u>estasis</u>) from his senses and would hear within him (<u>interiormente</u>) what the malqui said - if there would be a good year for crops or not and if they were to suffer pestilence or illness.[11]

Other ministers carried out much the same ceremonies in the old towns of their ayllus. Hernando Poma Quillai had served as sacristan to the Canta ayllu's old minister of idols, Domingo Taicachi the cripple, who

had recently died. While he was alive he had been much-respected and, according to Poma Quillai's testimony, although Taicachi "had to be carried to perform the functions", he would, himself, make the sacrifices, burn the offerings and ask the malquis and idols for his peoples' life, health and prosperity.[12] Alonso Chaupis the blind could speak with authority on the ceremonies he carried out in the Quirca old town and of those he conducted with Hernando Chaupis Condor in the nearby old town of the Yanaqui ayllu. The only variation contained in the account he gave the visitador was that he would also ask the malquis to increase Indian numbers.[13]

When the sacrifices and communication with the malquis had been completed, each of the religious entourages would descend from their respective old towns to other sacred places where the ministers would prepare to receive the peoples' confessions of wrongs. Periodic ritual purification of the people was seen as an essential part of their renewal. Scholarly speculation on indigenous confession has not waned, and it cannot be the place of this discussion to treat all of the issues that might be raised in connection with this theme.[14] However, on the question of whether the version of confession noted in the seventeenth century in connection with the semi-annual festivals

was a preserved rite from pre-Hispanic times, or a variation influenced by the Christian practice, the present discussion may add a limited contribution. It would seem that the questioning of the authenticity of the confession practices as "descended" from pre-Hispanic rituals came about because certain European minds preferred not to conceive of the Indians' possession of so analogous a rite to their own "exclusive" sacrament.

The "sins" (pecados) that the Indians were obliged to reveal to their own indigenous confessors (aucaches) appear to have been truly Indian wrongs. These primarily involved instances of negligence in the performance of the traditional rites: the forsaking of offerings to the malquis and idols, not observing fasts, returning to spouses in times of abstinence, entering a Catholic church during the sacred times, or failing to harvest the earth with the proper respect.[15] The performance of the Indian sacrament thus provided the minister-confessors with a powerful and frequent means of monitoring the adherence and morale of their clandestine flock. However, such things as the concealment of wrongs from the confessor, adultery and returning to an adulterer were also serious sins in San Pedro de Hacas. The local Indian enforcement of a code of morality seems to have been

effective, even in the case of high officials in the village.

Impropriety had cost Alonso Quispi Guaman his office as minister of idols in the Carampa ayllu. He admitted to the visitador that he had been involved in an "evil friendship" (mala amistad) with at least two married women.[16] He said that Hernando Hacas Poma had eventually come to know this, and had come to him to say that those who had committed sins (wrongs) "so abominable" with other mens' wives were "soiled and stained" (susios y manchados), and could not continue to serve the wak'as.[17] Hacas Poma removed him from office, installing the younger Andrés Guaman Pilpi soon after.

A second point that seems to favour the case that confession was a traditional exercise in Hacas was that there appears to have been a very clear distinction made between Indian and Spanish "sin" and thus, between indigenous confession and the imposed Catholic variety. This was certainly what the ministers, in their role as "dogmatisers", instructed, and one feels that they were listened to. Both Hernando Chaupis Condor and Alonso Chaupis the blind urged that when the Indians of their ayllus were obliged to go to the church, that they "never receive the sacraments in their hearts."[18] Especially, as Pedro Sarmiento confirms, these

dogmatisers

> commanded [the Indians] that they not confess their "idolatries" to the priests because they would stop their customs and punish them.[19]

Hernando Hacas Poma warned the Indian faithful to resist the pressure they would feel in the confession booth, and instructed that if the parish priest pursued knowledge of things related to their own observances, to beware, as they were most surely interested in information on the clandestine practises.[20]

The chief minister Hacas Poma was just as explicit in suggesting to the Indians examples of wrongs they might confess to the Catholic priest to satisfy their obligation. It was simple enough; the Indians had only to provide Christian sins such as saying that "they ate meat on the days of Lent", "failed to observe Mass", or that they had "used God's name in vain."[21] He recommended that the Indians might also detail what to the Spanish Catholics were "sins of sensuality" among people before marriage, or alternatively, he offered, they might describe their so-called "evil thoughts", the sins of the mind (pecados de pensamiento).[22] None of these things, according to Hacas Poma's own testimony, were to be forbidden in Hacas. He assured the people that they were not sins in the eyes of their indigenous ministers and confessors, but that these were the sorts of things to be confessed to the parish

priests.[23]

The sites of the indigenous confessions were portrayed by the Indians as having been small open pieces of land (cayanes or placetas in the documents), either in or near to the old towns and the granaries that held the maize. There is frequent mention of the ayllus' use of the open area near the idol Tauris for their confessions.[24] With the people of their ayllus assembled for the purpose, the minister-confessors would receive each member. The confessants each carried a handful of straws (ichu grass), and after a person had confessed his or her wrongs the confessor would choose a bunch of tnese at random. Ynes Julca Colque explained this part of the ceremony to the visitador.

> those that are confessed bring in their hands pieces of straw in order that the confessors could see if the confessants have revealed their sin. They draw out a little of the straw with their hands and if the number is even it is a good confession and if it is odd it is not good, and the confessant must confess more sins.[25]

The drawing of straws was repeated, and confessions were taken, until an even number was drawn, the indication that all wrongs had been revealed. Christóbal Pampa Condor told of a lengthy procedure and related that he had seen Hernando Hacas Poma and Christóbal Hacas Malqui "confess men and women until

the emergence of the bright star of the morning that they called Atumguarac."[26]

Interestingly, the evils that had afflicted the people were closely connected to the evils that were said to destroy the crops in their fields. The extraction of evil from the villagers was also the elimination of it as it affected the collective whole. Upon an even draw, the confessant would then be ordered by the confessor to spit on the straws in his hand, as Ynes Julca Colque related,

> because they say that in this saliva comes the ills and sicknesses of the village and the worms and maggots of the chacras.[27]

The ceremony of purification at the times of Pocoimita and Caruamita would then require the banishment of the wrongs and evils from the village.

This absolution or casting away of sins - the ritual that the Indians called Rupacarcui - was explained a number of different times to Bernardo de Noboa during the course of his examination in Hacas. Perhaps the most vivid account came from Hernando Chaupis Condor, minister-confessor in the Yanaqui ayllu.[28] In absolving the individuals of his ayllu, he washed each person's head with the flour made from white maize. Christóbal Hacas Malqui and Hernando Hacas Poma of the Chaca ayllu both noted that, mixed with this flour, were also to be water, filings of

coricallanca shell, powder of the white rock pasca and the straws used in confession.[29] The ingredients symbolised the cleansing process that the absolution was thought to bring about.

After the washings, Chaupis Condor said that he had some maize husks brought to him. In these, the minister and his assistants placed a cuy - Ynes Julca Colque claimed it had to be white - with the mixture of powders, filings and straws. These "wrappings" were then given to two young men chosen especially for the purpose, who would take them to the "Río Barranca", followed by a procession led by the elders playing tamborsillos and the women in their shawls and "all the rest of the people." In the river, the sins of the people - now conceived to be in the wrappings - would be sent away to the sea, the latter being the most potent Andean symbol of purification.[30] In the case of the Rupacarcui, once again, there was a close relationship with the fate of the fields. Stated Julca Colque, the rite was performed

> to cleanse the village and release from it illnesses and worms, that they do not eat the potatoes and maize.[31]

As Chaupis Condor performed the Rupacarcui he would repeat a prayer which he recited at Noboa's examination:

> Lord Stars, Parents Sun and Moon, Lord Morning Star,...your children have

> confessed their sins: pardon them and take them [these sins] to the sea, give life, health, well-being and an increase in numbers (aumento) to the Indians.[32]

Other ministers turned their pleas to matters beyond standard desires, in obvious adaptations to their colonial concerns of clandestinity for their religion's survival. Hernando Hacas Poma's incantation notably requested the successful concealment of their beliefs and traditions, and that the malquis would assist in seeing that the Indians did not offend (agraviar) the Spanish.[33]

Thus, in Hacas at the time of Noboa's visita, the confession and absolution was another fitting reflection of the colonial spiritual existence. Traditionally, the rite of purification was performed by confessors and in ayllu units, and was an important part of the restoration or regeneration of the world that was represented by the Pocoimita and Caruamita festivals. Also, the human reconciliation was very much in keeping with rhythm of renewals in the agricultural cycle. Both the land and its people required attention and periodic purification. Yet, in active resistance, as a noticeable adaptation to the colonial era, an integral part of the confession practice had become the ministers' countering of the imposed religion's sacrament that sought to serve much the same function in life. Their instruction

encouraged the Indians to differentiate between their rite and Catholic confession, and to guard against betraying their practices to the parish priests. In the ritual absolution, at least the chief priest Hacas Poma had tailored his prayer to include a wish that their cultural connections would be allowed to continue.

Through the first night of the festival's observance, the Indians participated in a vigil similar to that described in connection with the Vecosina and concurrent Catholic festivals. Again, sleeplessness during the night of revelry and dancing was considered essential to ensuring that the sacrifices would not be spoiled, and was taken as a sign indicating which people - and which ayllus - had been pardoned of their sins by the malquis.[34] Alonso Quispi Guaman explained the fear that the people had of not emerging as "victors" thus:

> if they sleep it is said that they will die very soon because the sins that they have confessed will return to them and that the sacrifices they made to their malquis will be lost.[35]

Begun by the sacrifices, confessions and the night of drinking and dancing, a total of five days were set aside for the observance of both the Pocoimita and Caruamita. This was done, of course, without Spanish approval, and, more than any other aspect, brought

about confrontation between the Indians and the parish priest. A ritual fast and abstinence from sexual relations were commanded by the chief ministers of the ayllus. "To work at this time", stated Juan Chaupis, "is a grave sin."[36] Affirming that there was to be no work, Christóbal Hacas Malqui added that at the semi-annual festivals, celebration seems to have been mixed with observance: they were to be five "festive days of leisure and amusement (holgansa)."[37]

Primarily, people were to fast from salt and ají. Yet, in addition to the denial of the enhancement of salt and peppers, the fast also prohibited certain foods that represented their decided religious opposition to things Spanish. Sustenance at these times was to come from the special chicha made by the women of the village for this occasion, and from the meat of the indigenous cuyes and llamas.[38] European strains of sheep - the "sheep of Castile" noted in the Indians' recorded testimonies - and pigs, things that appear to have become a common part of the Indian diet by the seventeenth century, were designated dirty food or Raccha Micuna by the villagers during the five days of the respective Pocoimita and Caruamita festivals.[39]

Abstaining from sexual relations with their wives or husbands was a similar kind of voluntary

deprivation, the individual's exhibition of his or her own purification and renewal in selfless devotion to the ancestors and wak'as during the sanctified times. To break this command was to commit the abominable sin called Cutipatigrapa. The minister Chaupis Condor told the visitador that he had seen weak-willed Indians surrender to this wrong many times (muchissimas beses), and that, always, "he who commits this sin [would] become impoverished and not have foods."[40] The five days of dedication and festivity would have been intensified in their meaning by the words of the village's religious leaders, who took full advantage of this opportunity to preach to the people en masse. The dogmatising represents the final significant element of the occasions of the Pocoimita and Caruamita.

The Spanish identified these "dogmatisers" (the chief ministers themselves) as the principal sources of corruption in the Indian parishes. Thus, high on their scale of religious crimes - perhaps below only that of a witch who was believed to use his or her powers to kill others - the extirpators of idolatry in seventeenth-century Peru had placed the offense of the dogmatizador. To the Spanish, the Andean dogmatiser represented a person more dangerous than the other indigenous religious officials to whom, from the deviant and dissenting traditions of Western Europe,

they had given names such as hechicero and brujo. A dogmatiser was judged to be an Indian in the custom of speaking to others authoritatively on points of belief and tradition, and one who worked actively and directly against what the Catholic Church was trying to achieve among the Indians.

As such, it was in pursuit of these evil preachers and instructors - the corrupters of the Indian youth - that a Spanish visitador of idolatry would direct many of his questions. Even if nothing else was accomplished during a visita in an Indian community, these individuals had to be identified, and then punished or removed. Noboa's visita to Hacas in 1657 was no exception, and before long the visitador had amassed a corpus of evidence on the dogmatising efforts of Hacas's principal clandestine preachers. It was determined that in village life the principal scenes of their dogmatising were these same indigenous festivals when the Indians were renewing their religious connections.

It was at the time of the festivals that the audience was most receptive to the dogmatisers. Juan Raura claimed that Hernando Hacas Poma headed the network of indigenous priests in the village who, by Hacas Poma's own command and example, would preach and dogmatise to the people.[41] The shepherd Pedro Capcha

Yauri said that at the time they:

> make their fasts and drink together, one ayllu inviting the other, that there he has seen and heard the dogmatisers of the ayllus.[42]

To the Indians, who assembled in their social units to listen to the teaching of their religious leaders, it was a time of re-enforcement - not only of their religious beliefs - but of their existence as a people. To the Spanish extirpators, however, the dogmatisers' messages that encouraged the Indians' adherence to the traditional connections with their malquis and wak'as were inherently evil. The dogmatisers led all the others, by their persuasiveness and their traditional magical authority, away from the exclusive path of truth. Their teachings on the festive occasions were seen as examples of the religious Indians' ignorance of the fact that their ancient practices of worship were in error and that their religion was inspired by the Devil.

However, less a priori in approach than the seventeenth-century Spanish Catholic could possibly be, present discussion of some of the essential notions that made up the messages and notions presented by the dogmatisers of Hacas may reveal some other aspects. Indeed, incorporating far more than the simple preaching of an obstinant attachment to their own religion and beliefs, the dogmatisers took the

offensive. Apparently - in San Pedro de Hacas at least - religious, and thus, cultural survival in the face of the challenges presented by intermittent efforts of Catholic evangelisation and forced acculturation had demanded more than merely tradition and obstinance on the part of the Indians. Hernando Hacas Poma and his principal local officials had engaged themselves in an active counter-evangelisation.

Initially, the indigenous preachers ventured to explain the Christians' God and His saints to the people of the village. Where the varying combination of a failure of effective Spanish evangelisation and a fluctuating Indian receptivity had resulted in a lack of real Indian conversion to the Christian faith, the dogmatisers were more than prepared to resolve any Indian confusion with their own interpretations. Of course, the Indian preachers did not pick apart tenets of the Catholic faith in the fashion of a Luther or a Calvin; they had never known the religion well enough to be so critical. Yet, this did not deprive them of the ability to acknowledge what, to their minds, were fundamental problems with the Christianity the Spaniards were attempting to force them to accept. Their preaching of a perceived "irrelevance" of the faith to their world showed that even the Indian critics' necessarily innocent reading of Catholicism

had resulted in some understanding. Indeed, in finding the Spaniards' faith irrelevant, the dogmatisers of Hacas may well have identified a major reason for the religion's failure to gain an orthodox following in many parts of the Andes.

The rationality of the Indians' preaching is striking. Hernando Chaupis Condor, for example, told the visitador that, by his understanding, the Indians had their wak'as and creators and so too did the Spanish. What were the saints, he asked, "but the Spaniards' huacas (wak'as) and camaquenes (creators)?"[43] Certainly, an Indian such as Chaupis Condor would hardly have been well-advised to appear vociferously intolerant to the Catholic faith during his examination by the visitador. Even so, the balance of his understanding, and the two-way tolerance it seems to recommend, cannot be passed off so lightly. A "theirs for them and our for us" logic of religious faith seems to have been commonly expressed by most of the dogmatisers of Hacas in the mid-seventeenth century.[44] What is more, the appeal of this message seems to have instilled in the villagers - or at least in the witnesses to appear before Noboa - a confidence as they explained their teachers', and their own, perceptions of the Catholic faith.

Ynes Julca Colque said that on many occasions she

had heard Hernando Hacas Poma instruct that

> the God of the Spaniards and the saints of the church were some pieces of painted and gilded wood, stupid and mute, that did not speak with the Indians, nor...give response like their malquis and idols... to that which had been done [sacrifices] and that which was asked.[45]

The images of the saints that the Spanish invoked with petitionary prayer and veneration struck the Indian dogmatisers in seventeenth-century Hacas as, essentially, idols. Yet, they were Spanish idols that gave the Indians no response. Obtaining a response, or a sign or result of some kind seems to have been of basic importance. It is of little wonder that the Indians did not associate the imposed cult of the saints, and Catholic doctrine in general, with positive results in their world. Catholicism had been brought as part and parcel of the Spanish conquest and consolidation in the Andes. Encomenderos (men assigned a number of Indian workers) and miners had been accompanied by friars and priests in Peru, and while the declared purposes of the representatives of the Spanish secular and religious establishments may have differed, where the Indians were concerned, the results had often been one and the same.

The dogmatisers' messages at the festivals became, at times, fearful and apocalyptic. This reflected a concern that the Indian leaders had for what the

colonial era was doing to their society and world. They had adapted their traditional message accordingly. While the traditional relationship between an Andean and a deity-figure or ancestor was one of utmost respect, and perhaps fear, one can assume that this fear of the wrath or displeasure of one's gods would have been lessened when conditions were good and when there was little apparent indication that one was held in any supernatural disfavour. On this premise, indigenous preaching would have become more threatening as circumstances worsened. In Hacas, this appears to have been what happened. When the extinction of their vision, and even of their existence, seemed at hand, stirring up a fear among the people would have been easily done, and was undoubtedly deemed necessary for survival.

In and around Hacas, general crises seem to have been evident at the time. Communities such as the aforementioned neighbour Cochillos, ayllus of the village such as the Picoca and Llacas, the disintegration of indigenous priesthoods and the existence of uncultivated chacras were indications.[46] There was also the continuing threat that the efforts at infiltration by the Catholic Church might achieve a foothold in the village. In all of the visita records from Noboa's examination in Hacas, it is only in

reference to the warnings made by the dogmatisers that any of the Indian witnesses mention cristianos, or Indians who had truly converted. One witness, Domingo Ribera, testified that as he and the others were taught, "there are [were] some Indians who want[ed] to be Christians" in Hacas.[47] The five days of Pocoimita and Caruamita were the perfect times for the periodic reminders and warnings of the dogmatisers. In stark contrast with the idealised pre-Hispanic Indian past, the preachers presented them with the situation of their present. Alarming moral lessons were the main ingredients of this element in the messages. "It was taught", related Alonso Quispi Guaman,

> that the reason that the Indians were wasting away...was that they were not worshipping their malquis and idols as they had traditionally (antiguamente), as their elders had done. [Then]...the villages had contained many Indians and they had more chacras and clothing, and lived with more rest. [Now]...because they [the Indians who were said to have given in] worship the God of the Spaniards in the church, the Indians were wasting away and they had lost their chacras. Their malquis and huacas (wak'as) were angered with the Indians.[48]

However, though the fear that was encouraged by the dogmatisers at the festivals seems to have been intensified by the colonial experience, it still built on preexisting beliefs and foundations. Because physical survival was naturally phrased in connection with the peoples' agricultural livelihood, the

re-echoing message from the religious leaders called for a continued worship of the malquis and idols who had the power to give them what they needed. As Francisco Poma y Altas related, the practices simply had to be observed or the people would de doomed and would "lose their chacras...and their irrigation canals and springs would dry up."[49] The dogmatisers told that if the malquis and wak'as were neglected, the Indians would suffer great sicknesses, and would be condemned, as Juan Raura put it, "to walk poor and desolate and...all waste away."[50]

Very little indication is given of any punishment that might have been prescribed to those who were lazy or, perhaps, bent on rejecting some of the old ways. Those who failed to comply with the teachings and the observances of the festivals were, according to Pedro Caico, "scolded" by the ministers and principales of the village, and, moreover,

> would die very soon by the curses hurled at them from the Other World (Otro Mundo).[51]

The threat of curses from the malquis may have been punishment enough. The same witness, Caico, went on to explain to the visitador that it was precisely because of a fear of the power of the Other World that so many Indians "were not true Christians."[52] Hernando Poma Quillai told that his former maestro, the old crippled

dogmatiser and minister of the Canta ayllu, Domingo Taicachi, had greatly desired that he (Hernando) continue in his office in religious dedication to the malquis to deter the "plagues that were killing off the Indians of Hacas."[53]

With the Spanish efforts at achieving their Christianisation, the ideologically resistant Indians could associate destruction and selfishness, and an attempted destructuration of their world in favour of creating a more assimilated work force.[54] The saints and relics of the church were not the Indians'; they were the Spaniards', and the Spanish were different. Further, by any moral standard, these invaders were probably not considered as particularly pious by the Indian underclass.[55] When religious and cultural survival was taken seriously, as it appears to have been in the environment of seventeenth-century Hacas, to adopt these invaders' faith, or to be like what the Spanish must have been perceived to be, in a religious and ethical sense, could not have been appealing.

Thus, with regard to the Catholic images ,and the very suitability of the faith itself, the Indian dogmatisers declined acceptance. For the Indians, unlike what remained an obscure printed book, a blurred conception of a tripartite God and a host of images of chiefly European, and invariably white, martyrs in the

church, their own religion was relevant to them and around them every day.[56] The culturally-determined logic alluded to by Hernando Chaupis Condor above was almost inescapable for the local Indian ministers, and became their natural articulation of the imposed faith in their efforts at counter-evangelisation. Pedro Guaman Vilca was succinct:

> The Indians, by being Indians worship their malquis and idols because these look out for the abundance of their chacras and the prosperity of the Indians.... Only the Spaniards should worship God and the painted saints that are in the church.[57]

In reference to the semi-annual Pocoimita and Caruamita festivals of which the dogmatising was an integral part, the clandestine religion's combination of persistent tradition and active opposition prevailed. While the foundation of the semi-annual occasions was devoted to the purification of the people and the renewal of their loyalty to the religious connections, as with so many elements in the seventeenth-century spiritual existence, the approach to confession and instruction at the festivals was different than it had been.

A passivity or a dormant acceptance of Catholicism's ascendancy in the land would have spelled the end for a vital Indian religion in Hacas. The fact that festivals, ancient tradiciones and commemoration

of their own sacred histories continued to play an essential role in the peoples' outlook and world, suggests action and conscious objection. The proponents of the clandestine faith in Hacas, in the interest of cultural survival, had adapted things like their explanation of wrong and their dogmatising messages. They had attempted to understand, and had actively confronted, the existence of a dominant Christian rival for the hearts of the faithful in the village.

CHAPTER V NOTES:

1 f 29v, Duviols 174.

2 M. Eliade, The Myth of the Eternal Return, 92. See the entire chapter entitled "The Regeneration of Time", 51-92.

3 f 81v, Duviols 234.

4 L. Huertas Vallejos writes of "the pueblo viejo of the ayllu of Acas", portraying the community as acting together. L. Huertas Vallejos, 43-44.

5 f 33v, Duviols 180.

6 Ibid.

7 Christóbal Hacas Malqui, f 26, Duviols 169; See also the notary's own description of the old town of the Tacas ayllu, f 116v, Duviols, 246.

8 f 29v, Duviols 174.

9 M. Eliade, Ordeal by Labyrinth, 58.

10 L. Valcárcel, tomo III, 224-226.

11 f 8, Duviols 143.

12 f 51v, Duviols 206-207.

13 f 49, Duviols 203.

14 Even selectively, the list is substantial. For excellent modern summaries see L. Valcárcel, tomo III, 267-270 and L. Huertas Vallejos, 38-39. See also L. Millones, "La religión indígena en la colonia", 460-463 and Introducción al estudio de las idolatrías, 25. For contemporary descriptions and ideas see P.J. Arriaga, 33-34; F. Waman Poma y Ayala, 1636, in C. Dilke (tr. and ed.), Letter to a King: A Peruvian Chief's Account of Life Under the Incas and Under Spanish Rule, (New York, 1978), I, 60-61; Hernando de Avendaño, "Relación de las idolatrías" in P. Duviols, Cultura andina, 444-445; R. Hernández Príncipe," Idolatrías en Recuay, provincia de Huailas", Inca, I, (Lima, 1923), 25-49 in P. Duviols, Ibid., 499.

15 Hernando Hacas Poma, f 14v, Duviols 152.

16 f 46, Duviols 199.

17 Ibid.

18 Hernando Chaupis Condor, f 17v-18, Duviols, 156-157 and Alonso Chaupis the blind, f 50, Duviols 204.

19 Pedro Sarmiento, f 54-55v, Duviols 211.

20 14v, Duviols 152.

21 Ibid.

22 f 14v-15, Duviols 152.

23 Pedro Sarmiento, f 54-54v, Duviols 211, tells that Hernando Chaupis Condor and Alonso Chaupis the blind had much the same message.

24 Francisco Poma y Altas, f 38v, Duviols 188; Pedro Poma Guras, f 83v, Duviols 236; Juan Chaupis, f 86, Duviols 239; Pedro Caico, f 43v, Duviols 195. This last witness stated that the Indians confessed " according to their ayllus, sometimes in their old towns and other times in a place that is near the idol Tauris."

25 f 33, Duviols 179; See also Hernando Chaupis Condor, f 18, Duviols 157; Christóbal Hacas Malqui, f 24, Duviols 166 and Hernando Poma Quillai, f 51v, Duviols 206-207.

26 f 60-60v, Duviols 219.

27 f 33, Duviols 179-180; See also Christóbal Hacas Malqui, f 24v, Duviols 166-167.

28 f 18, Duviols 157.

29 Christóbal Hacas Malqui, f 24v, Duviols 166-167 and Hernando Hacas Poma, f 9v, Duviols 144. Luís Millones calls the pasca stone "the stone of forgiveness"; see L. Millones, Historia y poder, 244.

30 Andear custom in other areas includes the washing of heads in the river at this point. L. Millones, Historia y poder, 244.

31 f 33v, Duviols 180.

32 f 18, Duviols 157. See also Andrés Guaman Pilpi, f

29v, Duviols 174 and Francisco Poma y Altas, f 38v-39, Duviols 188.

33 f 9v, Duviols 144.

34 f 33-33v, Duviols 179-180. See also Hernando Hacas Poma, f 9v, Duviols 144-145.

35 f 46, Duviols 199. See also Pedro Sarmiento, f 54, Duviols 210-211.

36 f 86, Duviols 239.

37 Christóbal Hacas Malqui, f 24v, Duviols 167.

38 Francisco Poma y Altas, f 39, Duviols 188-189.

39 Ynes Julca Colque, f 33v, Duviols 180 and Christóbal Hacas Malqui, f 24v, Duviols 167.

40 f 22, Duviols 163.

41 f 41, Duviols 192, Don Christóbal Poma Libia told of a similar "network" presided over by Hacas Poma, f 108v, Duviols 243-244.

42 f 60, Duviols 219. He noted that most evident was Hernando Hacas Poma (en especial quien más se mostraba en esto era Hernando Hacaspoma).

43 f 17v, Duviols 156.

44 Hernando Chaupis Condor, f 17v, Duviols 156; Christóbal Hacas Malqui, f 24v, Duviols 167; Andrés Guaman Pilpi, f 29v, Duviols 174; Ynes Julca Colque, f 33v, Duviols 180 and Francisco Poma y Altas, f 39, Duviols 189.

45 f 33v, Duviols 180. See also Pedro Caico, f 44, Duviols 196.

46 This is in reference to the specific instances of depopulation mentioned : the Picoca and Llacas ayllus in Hacas and the lowland community of Cochillos.

47 f 58, Duviols 216.

48 f 46v-47, Duviols 200. Pedro Guaman Vilca, f 66, Duviols 227, concurred, stating "that in ancient times the Indians had much good fortune and much food."

49 f 39, Duviols 189.

50 f 41, Duviols 192.

51 f 44, Duviols 196. See also Gonzalo Poma Lloclla, f 65, Duviols 226.

52 Ibid.

53 f 51, Duviols 206.

54 N. Wachtel, 136-137.

55 Felipe Waman Poma's words come to mind. In his "Letter to the King", in answer to the hypothetical question of a remedy for the sorry state of affairs between Spaniards and Indians in Peru, he replied: "All I can say, Your majesty, is that the Spaniards ought to live like Christians." F. Waman Poma de Ayala, 209.
A recent piece of work full of suggestion concerning Indian perceptions of Spaniards in Peru as "un-Christian" in the eighteenth century is that cited above by J. Szemiński in S.J. Stern (ed.), Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness, 166-192.

56 For an interesting look at the effect of the Bible and the authority of the printed word on the historiography and ideas surrounding the death of the Inka Atawallpa, see, upon its availability, S. MacCormack, "Atawallpa and the Book", (paper presented to the American Historical Association, Washington D.C.,December 1987, to be published). Thanks to Professor David Johnson for directing my attention to these ideas.

57 f 66, Duviols 227.

VI CONCLUSION :

Living on the political and spiritual frontier in colonial Peru in the middle of the seventeenth century, the people of San Pedro de Hacas are an example of the indigenous world in the colonial era. Unintegrated into Spanish Catholic Peru, nonliterate, Quechua-speaking, inward-looking mountain villagers, they left virtually nothing behind to tell of their world save the record that filters through the documentation collected in 1657 by Bernardo de Noboa's visita of idolatry. What stands out in this piece of evidence is an image of the complex spiritual existence of the community. The key players in the local drama were certainly the indigenous priesthood, however, one would be mistaken in divorcing the ordinary villagers from the beliefs and traditions. The historical moment in Hacas involved the entire village, a world of Indian religious allegiance, conspiracy and resistance. In this setting, the penetration and influence of Catholicism seems to have encouraged the peoples' resilience, and only enhanced a steadfast determination to maintain and defend a cultural identity that was inextricably bound to religion. Yet, however fascinating, Hacas and the individuals involved in the religious opposition are of limited importance without recognition of what they may symbolise in the context

of a larger and more vital clash.

In the mid-seventeenth century, Hacas aroused the attention of the Extirpation. Under the authority of the Archbishop of Lima, Don Pedro de Villagómez, the institution had regained prominence as the Church's principal reaction to surviving forms of Indian religiosity in the mountain parishes. Claiming the ability to condemn both the living and the dead to the Christian Hell and incorporating Inquisitional methods of coercing testimonies, Bernardo de Noboa's investigation in Hacas attempted to make its presence felt through the exertion of its powers and claims to spiritual authority.

In the fire of the auto-de-fé in the village plaza, along with the idols, wak'as, conopas, parts of huancas and remnants of offerings, Visitador Noboa included the corpses of the Indians' ancestors, the malquis, that had been revealed. The cremation post mortem of these "living dead" that, for generations had been preserved and maintained by offerings and festivals, represented the Extirpation's most poignant attack on the basis of the Indian religion. As Pierre Duviols expressed it, it was the Spanish desire "to kill their culture through their dead."[1]

Where the people came from was intimately associated with how they existed. It was a matter of

maintaining the connections. At no other occasions more than the festivals in commemoration of their origins, those of periodic renewal memorialised in the rhythm of the seasons, and those which existed parallel to, or "inside" the reality of Catholic ritual in the village, was this more clearly illustrated. These were the principal times of participation in which the people would reinforce their identity - and despite adversity - their cultural integrity.

Noboa had unearthed countless examples of malquis and sacred wak'as that had been concealed from Hernando de Avendaño's visita over a generation earlier.[2] It does not appear to have been a particularly difficult thing for the Indians to hide important idols and malquis from Spanish attention. Also, there was certainly no Indian oath that forbade the presentation of meaningless stones and sites to the officials to quench the visita's thirst for a material measure of their success, a large number of idols and wak'as at the auto-de-fé.[3] Moreover, there is little evidence to suggest that the removal and destruction of malquis and idols extinguished their significance to the Indians. As Andrés Guaman Pilpi of Hacas testified was the case with the destroyed idol Marcayan, "although it had been burnt, the soul of the said idol lived."[4] In the Yanaqui ayllu, Hernando Chaupis Condor told that

in place of two stone idols destroyed by Visitador Avendaño the Indians continued to venerate two painted masks.[5]

The Extirpation also attempted to deter the Indians through what was meant to be the humiliation and punishment of the indigenous priests and the religious offenders of the village. A "good confessant" such as the camachico, Don Christóbal Poma Libia, for example, was lightly sentenced to one year's service in the church under the supervision of the parish priest.[6] Villagers such as Juan Raura or Pedro Sarmiento, charged as ministers of idols, or the famous sorceror and dogmatiser, Alonso Chaupis the blind, received the standard harsher punishments.

All three were to be taken in procession through the streets of the village with a rope around their necks and a cross in their hands. With the intention of adding to his humiliation the visitador decided that the religious criminal Chaupis the blind should have his head shaved (an Andean symbol of shame), and upon it placed a coroza (a coned headpiece and European symbol of shame for condemned heretics), having his crimes yelled aloud by a crier as he moved through the streets. Further, Alonso Chaupis was to publically suffer fifty lashes. All of the above were sentenced to serve in the church for two, four and eight years

respectively, and ran the risk of having their sentences doubled if they chose to backslide (reincidir) to their former evils.[7]

To the octogenarian, Hernando Hacas Poma (who died before his sentence could be served), and Hernando Chaupis Condor, of course, were meted out the most severe penalties. The Spanish declared them to be beyond the help of reform. Both Hernandos were charged as leaders of the evil religion's persistence, chief ministers, ordainers of other officers, dogmatisers, sorcerors, not to mention deceitful liars (embusteros) and apostates (relapsos). After their prominent participation in the same procession intended to shame them in the eyes of the other villagers, they were to be banished to the Casa de Santa Cruz in the Cercado of Lima where they were to serve six years. Their release depended on the abjuration of their errors, and any indication of their failure to reform, Noboa included, was to result in their penalties being doubled.[8]

The procession of humiliation for most of the convicted ministers and the severity of the penalties to Hacas Poma and Chaupis Condor reflected the Extirpation's long-running contentions. The official Church believed it would be through both the degradation of the religious officials in the eyes of their faithful and the removal of these main proponents

of local religious resistance that the Indian parishes would be rid of their most serious obstacles to the victory of Catholicism. The repressive measures were meant to be warnings to the others to dissuade them from their traditional loyalties. The opposite was quite possibly the case. The supposed humiliation of the procession of the religious leaders through Hacas likely elevated these people in the villagers' estimation and strengthened the collective Indian resolve. Furthermore, the banishment and death of a man such as Hernando Hacas Poma must have created an Indian martyr in the cultural resistance.

The official Church, through its re-invigorated agent, the Extirpation, had opted for force as its solution to the persistence of the resilient traditional religion in the Indian parishes. In this decision, Archbishop Villagómez and the Church in Peru had left such significant one-time supporters as the Jesuit order in its wake. It had decided that the problem of idolatry in the seventeenth century did not call for the proliferation of the teaching and understanding that conversion to Christianity might also stand for. Instead of persuading the Indians to embrace the Christian faith through redoubled efforts at prosetylisation and a vigilant missionary strategy, a militant Church akin with the larger age of which it

was part, found sway even in the fastnesses of Andean Peru.

The seventeenth-century concern with the state of Catholicism in Indian Peru, embodied by the campaigns of the Extirpation of idolatry, became a crusade, not so much in the name of God, as against the Devil. As has often been the case in other historical settings, so much concentration on Evil in the examination of indigenous beliefs created occasions for Evil to manifest itself in the Indians' own confessions. If Noboa's investigation in Hacas in 1657 is any indication - and indeed it must be - the religious confrontation represented at the instance of the visitas of idolatry brought to the fore the ideological stalemate resulting from the confrontation of two visions held by two worlds in Peru: the crisis of understanding on the part of the Spanish and the cultural tenacity on the part of the Indians. What the official Church understood to be evil and idolatrous among the worship practices of the Indians was essentially an effort at cultural and religious survival intermixed with an active opposition that the circumstances of clandestinity and Catholic ascendancy demanded. Despite what had transpired politically and militarily over a century earlier, resistance to the Spanish Catholics' destructuration of the Indian world

was alive in Hacas, as undoubtedly elsewhere.

After the death of the proponent Villagómez in 1671, it would be the Extirpation that would fade away. Though visitas of idolatry made sporadic appearances in the Andes through the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as responses to specific problems, as an organised institution it had clearly run its course.

In San Pedro de Hacas, the Extirpation of idolatry faced a greater rival than the blind worship of false man-made gods or idols, it confronted a people rich in tradition and experienced in cultural survival. The villagers' resistance to colonial impositions was subtle, intelligent and successful. Realists, cognisant of the futility of a more violent rebellion against their overlords from so limited a sphere as their village, they opposed their extinction as a living people the only way they knew how. It proved an impossible task for the Spanish to extirpate the cultural memory and the religious connections that defined the Indian peoples' identity.

CHAPTER VI NOTES :

1 P. Duviols, Cultura andina, LXXV.

2 Proper treatment of this theme in relation to Hacas is a discussion all its own. Alonso Chaupis, for example, told of six impotrtant malquis and a huanca of the Quirca ayllu that had been hidden from Avendaño. f 30v, Duviols 175.

3 The Indians in Hacas did not confess to these acts of deception. However, for an example in which it was known to have occurred see A.M. Wightman in D.G. Sweet and G.B. Nash (eds.), 38-48.

4 f 36v, Duviols 185.

5 f 21, Duviols 161.

6 f 121v, Duviols 253.

7 f 120-120v, Duviols 251-252.

8 f 120, Duviols 251.

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